A REVIEW

OF THE HISTORY & WORK OF THE

HINDU MAHASABHA

AND

THE HINDU SANGHATAN MOVEMENT

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आसिंधुसिंधुपर्यन्ता यस्य भारतभूमिका ।
पितृभूः पुण्यभूश्चैव स वै हिंदुरिति स्मृतः ॥

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BY

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INTRODUCTION

In persuance of a resolution of the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha Mr. Indra Prakash is bringing out this Volume as a retrospect of the work done by and a passing review of the beginning and growth of the Hindu Maha Sabha up-to-date. The bock is also meant to serve as a bird's eye view of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement itself.

In order to ascertain the causes, motives and spread of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement as a whole some parts of the speeches of the distinguished Hindu leaders who presided over the Maha Sabha from time to time are reproduced in the Volume. Two special articles from the pens of two of the foremost champions of the Hindu cause, Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonje, are also added by way of introduction in order to elucidate further the different view points from which leaders of Hindu thought and action survey and apprize the aims, objects and work

of the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Hindu Sanghatan Movement as well.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the individual views of the leaders of the Maha-sabha or of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement in general, cannot be taken to be identical with the corporate view of the Hindu Maha Sabha itself. The corporate aim, object and out-look of the Maha Sabha as a body at any given time can only be ascertained through the resolutions passed at its Annual Session, and authorized Committtees representing it from time to time.

Another point to which we wish to draw the attention of the readers of this short sketch of of the History of the Maha Sabha and its work, is the fact that a living institution like an individual grows in thought and activity as time passes on. As on the one hand it must be borne in mind that the cradle serves well for a baby so on the other hand this also cannot be denied that it would be foolish to persist in keeping the lad couped and cabinned in the cradle even when it has out-grown its infancy. The infantile creeds of institutions, like cradles, and its activities like those of a baby howsoever

narrow and ridiculously limited they may seem to the later age, are quite likely to have been of great use in nestling it and inevitably natural to its infancy. But all the same they may contribute to dwarf its growth and hamper its expanding ambitions and activities later on. An Institution, therefore, must expand its infant creed, out-look and policy from time to time to respond and adapt itself to the changes in circumstances and environments which time in its onward march inevitably brings about. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that the Hindu Maha Sabha also has never hesitated to refuse to get itself crippled by persisting to be circumscribed by the limits which, howsoever beneficial or inevitable they might have been in its infancy, ceased to respond to and accommodate themselves with its expanding activity and growth. Consequently the malicious folly that tries to disparage the fortitude with which the Hindu Maha Sabha has stepped forward to-day to shoulder the gigantic responsibilities involved in fulfilment of its mission of the regeneration of the Hindu Race in all spheres of life whether religious, social or poli-

tical by pointing out to its infantile creeds or policies or stray utterances of some of its early leaders here or there, is as ridiculous and mean as an attempt to belittle a Herculian wrestler who enters the Marathon competition merely pointing out to the fact that he used to crawl on all fours in days of his early infancy.

Let us cast a glance by way of illustration on the beginning and the growth of the Indian Congress itself. It did not leap out all of a sudden like a Veerbhadra fully grown, equipped and armed out of the wrath of some Lord Rudra, some angry God. The Congress movement also had to be cradled in infantile creeds, kept crawling, indulged in silly babbling before it came to age. The Presidential addresses during first half-a-dozen sessions of the National Congress swore by its abiding faith in the bonafides of the British people, its loyalty to the British Rule and prayed for the permanance of the British sovereignty and suzerainty over India. It claimed to, meant to strengthen the ties that bound India to the British Empire. Even so late as the year 1916 the Congress Session at Lucknow sang the British National

anthem and flew the Union Jack, the British Flag, as a token of its faith in the beneficial mission of Great Britain in India. How vividly we remember the meetings in London during 1909 and 1910 when Gandhiji used to jump up to his feet in all reverence as soon as the tune "God save the King" was struck up and kept denouncing the "Abhinava Bharat" revolutionary youths when they refused to stand up and pay homage to the Alien anthem. During the Great Anglo-German War did not the Gandhist Congressites serve as recruiting agents to the British Government? Their Ahimsa and Satya did not stand in their way in inciting Indian sepoys to shoot the Germans straight off in the interest of the British Empire. There was a period when the name of the Congress was but a synonym for political timidity and toadyism. But will that all justify any one to deny the National services the Congress has as an institution and on the whole rendered to our country throughout its career or the patriotic motive that actuated it as an institution even when some of its leaders erred? It only exemplifies the sound tenet of just

criticism that no institution should be judged in its totality by merely pointing out to any passing phase of its activity or any treacherous or erring action or word on the part of its stray leaders here or there. Nor could it be, on the other hand, called upon to halt its progressive march by reference to its infant creeds or limits and policies it has grown in response to larger and newer responsibilities which its growing strength enablss it to shoulder towards the fulfilment of the mission of its life.

The present Volume does not claim to be an exhaustive history of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement. But it will be seen even from this passing survey of the Movement how the Hindu Mahasabha has ceaselessly served the Hindu Commuuity and in fact has proved to be the only faithful guardian of interests and rights of Hindudom as a whole. It is doubtless due to the continuous struggle which the Maha Sabha carried on according to its light and might and the strenuous work its leaders and followers did that Hindudom has been spared from still more fearful damages

than it has already been subjected to and saved it from the virulance of non-Hindu onslaughts which would otherwise have proved more disastrous than they have already been. In fact it was the Maha Sabha alone which has roused the Pan-Hindu consciousness throughout the length and breadth of India and outside and made the different sects, castes and creeds feel as Hindus, a Nation by themselves, as kith and kin with one another bound together by the dearest corporate ties of a common race, a common country, a common language, a common culture, a common past and a common future, having friends in common and foes in common.

Even this single achievement is enough to justify its existence and utility and lays a foundation strong enough to bear the weight of a free and mighty Hindu Nation that may be raised on it by generations to come. From its watch-tower the Mahasabha scented the danger ahead which threatened the very existence of Hindudom, sounded the alarm bell and roused the Hindu Community from its age-long stupor, taught it to distinguish a friend from a

foe and infused it with a pulsating urge to be up and doing in defence of its Religion and Race, Culture and Country. It is an achievement by itself. The song that nerves a Nation's heart is in itself a deed.

Apart from this fundamental achievement, even the practical and detailed work, the Hindu Mahasabha has done through the short span of time since it came into an organised existence, will no doubt prove an agreeable surprise to every patriotic Hindu when he surveys it in its collective form in this short report of it. The latter half of this Volume is devoted to tabulate in a nut-shell the activities of the Maha Sabha through the network of its various branches. The numerous committees, representations, deputations, inquiries, strenuous efforts to do away with untouchability and such other disintegrating evils that have kept corroding the solidarity of the Hindu Race for ages in the past, the numbers of Shuddhis already performed, the facing and fighting out the onslaughts of non-Hindu aggression during riots and attacks by force or fraud against the Hindus and such other

manifold activities which the Hindu Mahasabha carried on throughout these years in co-operation of all other allied Hindu Sanghatanist institutions and organizations, are bound to prove an eye-opener to the cavelling question which impertinently and ungratefully asks in season and out of season "what has the Hindu Mahasabha or the Hindu Sanghatan Movement done in defending the cause of the Hindus ?" The proverbial-shortness of mass memory and the mean attempt to suppress and distort the news about the Hindu Sanghatan activities on the part of the so-called National Congressite press have been in the main responsible for this ignorant or interested cavil.

To these carping critics the conspectus of the detailed work of the Mahasabha and other Sanghatanist bodies which the latter part of this book provides, cannot fail to serve as a befitting rebuff. On the other hand the fact that so much detailed work as shown in the conspectus could already be done under such adverse circumstances by the Hindu Sanghatanists in 20 years time is bound to stimulate

many a self-diffident Sanghatanist to work on with redoubled hope and vigour.

Of this detailed work the most outstanding fact to be noted is a change that is brought about by the Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha in the mental attitude of the Hindu Community, in general, in favour of the Suddhi Movement. In a suicidal fit, ages ago, the Hindus set their face sternly against their prozelitising activity and put a ban even on reclaiming those of their kith and kin who had fallen in the clutches of Alien faiths. This bar on Suddhi and Dharma-prachar even in the face of a clash with Christianity and especially with the most verulent and unscruplously prozelitising Islamic faith has been the factor most responsible for the terrible decrease in the population of the Hindus in their own land as well as abroad. It was not only a question of contributing to a set of religious dogmas this way or that. The conversion of a Hindu to an Alien faith like Islam was not only a religious but a cultural and racial alienation from the Hindu fold of turning a cognate friend into a bitter alien foe,—it was a National loss to spelling disaster to the

National existence of Hindudom. It is the realisation of this aspect of religious conversion of the Hindus to Alien faiths that shocked Swami Shraddhanand and convinced him that unless checked in time this proccess of Alien prozelitisation was sure to exterminate Hindudom even as a Race and a Nation within a couple of centuries to come.

Moreover it must clearly be recognized by the Hindus that today the political power in democracies in the world hinges more and more on the census, the population strength of a community. And the population strength of the Hindus, other things being equal, must depend in the main on the Suddhi Movement, i. e. on the proportion in which the Hindus succeed in stopping the dreadful conversion activities of the Alien faiths and in accelerating the reclamation of the alienated numbers back to the Hindu fold. IN A COUNTRY LIKE INDIA WHERE A RELIGIOUS UNIT TENDS INEVITABLY TO GROW INTO A CULTURAL AND NATIONAL UNIT, SUDDHI MOVEMENT CEASES TO BE MERELY THEOLOGICAL OR DOGMATIC

ONE, BUT ASSUMES THE WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF A POLITICAL AND NATIONAL MOVEMENT. If the Moslems increase in population, the centre of political power is bound to be shifted in their favour, as it has already done in some of the provinces in India. And wherever they dominate in number the treacherous cry is raised to partition India and to betray a part of it to Aliens outside India, to form a Pakistan—a non-Indian federation, a pan-Islamic state and so on. Even those who fancy themselves of being merely 'Indians' and are only enamoured of the hollow contents of a territorial Patriotism, of India as a country in the sense of merely a geographical unit, will also do well to remember that the Suddhi Movement cannot but contribute to the defence of the political integrity and solidarity of India as a country and as an independent state. But the Hindus being the bedrock of the Indian nation itself, anything that contributes to lessen their collective strengh is sure to lessen the National and Political strength of India too, to tighten the grip of the Alien rule that holds India in subjection today or to expose India and betray

her to any Alien and non-Indian Moslem aggression in future.

Viewed in this light the Suddhi and the Hindu Sanghatan Movement cannot but have a genuinely national significance even in the eyes of those who pride themselves on being only 'Indian Patriots' in a territorial sense alone.

But whether the so-called territorial patriots think such wise or not—to the Hindus at any rate the Suddhi Movement is not only a religious or dogmatic necessity but is in the main a political and national necessity. That is why the success that the Hindu Sangathan Movement has achieved in bringing about a change in the mental attitude of the Hindu Community in favour of the Suddhi Movement duriug the last twenty years or so must be ranked as significant. It is a matter for congratulations that even our Sanatani brothers have given up their deadly opposition to the Suddhi Movement which they honestly suspected of being a subvertive and irreligious activity in its beginning but have later on realized to be an inevitable necessity as a means of self-

protection if the Hindus wanted to maintain their numerical strength undiminished and even ever on the increase. It is hoped that our Sanatani brethren will even endorse and lead the Suddhi Movement in all enthusiasm before long.

Apart from this theoritical side of the Suddhi even the practical efforts and results in that direction are also very encouraging when we take into consideration the serious difficulties and all-sided opposition the workers had to face in its initial period as will be seen in the Chapter devoted in this book showing the numbers of reconversions to Hindudom. The achievements of Masurashram of Satara which has reclaimed some ten thousand Hindus in Gomantak who were mostly forcibly converted to Christianity in the days of Portuguese fanaticism or the activities of the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha which has almost freed the whole district from the prozelitising pestilence of the Moulvies and the Missionaries who had held the district in their grip for some half a century in the past and several such other notable records of Suddhis on the part of other Sanghatanist

institutions all over India which are tabled in that separate Chapter of this book are telling enough, even though the list is by no means exhaustive, to prove that much spade work in the field of the Suddhi Movement is already done. It is hoped that this spade work cannot but fascilitate and accelerate further efforts in that direction. It has sounded and found out the immense possibilities and fertile fields inviting tremendous efforts in future. The realization of the immense work still to be done is in itself an important piece of work done.

This Volume is not only meant to serve as a sketch of the History and work of the Hindu Mahasabha as an institution by itself but aims along with that to record, however briefly and meagerly it may be, the efforts and the results of the work done by all those institutions, associations, missions, samajas, ashramas etc. which have been striving in the cause of Hindu Sanghatan. All these Hindu Sanghatanist institutions, even though they be not formally affiliated to each other, are still allied with one another in the common cause. All of them aim at the regeneration of the Hindu

Race moulding it into a free and mighty Hindu Nation. Any work done by any one of them in the interest of that common cause cannot but strengthen the mission of the rest and must therefore be a matter for common congratulation. With this view we have tried to collect some information of as many Sanghatanist Institutions as under the circumstances we could approach and incorporate it in a chapter of this volume along with the reports of the different branches of the Hindu Mahasabha, crediting the work of each to the name of that particular institution. It must be mentioned here with regret that the limit of time and paucity of means prevented us from approaching many institutions which are working in the field of Hindu Sanghatan and in cases even when we tried our best to gather information, some of them failed to supply us with it. Space and cost again did not allow us to do full justice to the reports of different bodies and forced us to cull out only some leading items and incorporate them in this book. This being the first attempt ever made on such a wide out-look, we could not succeed in unearthing details about

the history of the Hindu Mahasabha itself as in many cases it was found that the old records were either not kept or were lost. However, when new editions of this volume come to be published it would then be comparatively easy to make further additions and corrections and whatever short-comings have inevitably crept in this book would easily be removed.

Of all the institutions which are referred to above as being allied with the Hindu Mahasabha in the common cause of the Hindu Sanghatan Movement, the Arya Samaj must rank as being not only the first but the foremost advocate of the Hindu Cause. The Hindu Maha Sabha itself is in fact but an enlarged and more comprehensive edition of the Arya Samaj. The honour of being the first apostle of Hindu Sanghatan in modern days must ever rest with Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the illustrious founder of the Arya Samaj Movement. It is no wonder therefore to find that the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Maha Sabha today are almost identified with each other in their activities and more often than not the same set of leaders and missionaries are leading, directing

and working the Hindu Sabhas as well as the Arya Samajs at many a local and provincial centre in India.

Even the spade-work as detailed out in this Report, was not a walk over a bed of roses. The Hindu Sanghatanists had to face the apathy on the part of crores of the unawakened masses of their coreligionists on the one hand and on the other the treacherous attitude of the pseudo-Nationalist Hindus who are friends of every other community in the world but their own and who are ever ready to betray even the just interest of the Hindus and to placate the Moslems even in the most anti-national demands on their part—just to prove that the Indian patriotism of these pseudo-Nationalists like Ceazer's wife was above suspicion. Thus unaided and betrayed at home, the brave band of the Hindu Sanghatanist leaders and missionaries had to face outside the organised opposition of the Christian Missionaries on the one hand and the fanatical riots, hooliganism, assaults and assasinations of the Moslem fanaticism on the other—while the British Government out of its Political hostility to the Hindus

was sworn never to take the side of the Hindus whenever Hindu interest clashed with the interest of the traditional "favoured wife" of the British. Thousands of the Hindu Sanghatanists had thus to face incarcerations, transportations, gallows, the fanatical daggers of the murderers—but they kept on the fight and did not surrender the Hindu banner. All glory to these pioneers, martyrs, fighters and workers who defended the Hindu Cause which the Hindu Mahasabha represented and enabled the Hindu Sanghatan Movement to assert itself as a factor in Indian Politics which no one can safely neglect.

If the Hindu Mahasabha could not work still more effectively—the fault lies with the majority of the Hindus. Take for example the most suicidal mistake the Hindu Electorates had committed in the last elections to the Councils. Disregarding the stern warning of the Hindu Mahasabha the Hindus voted for those pseudo Nationalists referred to above as their representatives, who were bound to the Congress pledge and whose policy is notoriously anti-Hindu, disgracefully pro-Moslem and consequently

disastrously anti-national. These Congress candidates are not ashamed of subscribing themselves as Hindus in the election season, that is, in that season they do not think it communal to own themselves as Hindus. For otherwise they would not be eligible to stand as candidates at all and get elected on Hindu votes. But as soon as the elections are over and they have raised themselves to posts in the Councils and the Ministries on the strength of Hindu votes, they disown their Hinduness, condemn Hindu Organizations like the Hindu Maha Sabha as Communal while keep dancing attendance on the most fanatical and anti-national Moslem organizations as the Moslem League. Witness for example, the instructions issued by the Bengal Provincial Congress inspired by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose himself that Congress Hindus in Bengal should not agitate against the so-called Communal Award; or the action of the Congress party in Bengal Legislature which practically supported Mr. Fazlul Haq's outrageous bill to reserve 60% services for Moslems! Why, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and his Congress party dared to betray Hindu

interest in that treacherous fashion only because the Hindu Electorate, they were sure, would not take them to task. But if the Hindus will determine to vote only for those men who stood on the Mahasabha Hindu ticket and refuse to vote in future for those pseudo Nationalist Congress Candidates—the Congress will come to its senses in a day! For the simple reason that not a single Congress Candidate would be elected by the Hindu Electorate as a punishment for their betraying the cause of the Hindus who sent them to the Council or Municipality or Board to represent the Hindu interest. The Moslem Electorate returns only those Moslems who are openly pledged to defend Moslem interest even when they are aggressive and anti-national. The result is that they have real Moslem Ministries in two or three provinces devoted to strengthen the Moslem position even aggressivly in every detail of National life. If the Hindus elect only the staunchest Hindu Sanghatanists to the Municipalities, Boards and Councils they too can have seven real Hindu Ministries and the Hindu interest will not only be safe in

those seven Provinces where the Hindus are in majority but they can check the Moslem Ministries in the Moslem Provinces as well and force them to do justice to the Hindu Minorities also. If the Moslem Ministry in Bengal, for example, reserves 60% services for Moslems in Bengal, because there are some 55% Moslems there, a real Hindu Sanghatanist Ministry in Bombay could have adopted a retaliatory measure of reserving 95% services for the Hindus in Bombay as there are some 90% Hindus in that Province and thus checked the Moslem aggression in Bengal and Punjab and protected Hindu Minorities there—if only the Hindu electorates had returned those Hindus as their representatives who were sworn to guard Hindu interest,

The Hindu Mahasabha asks nothing for the Hindus which is not based on equality of treatment and is not consistent with the real National interest of the Indian Nation as well, and therefore the guarding of the just interest of the Hindus is tantamount with guarding the National interest also. It is the present policy of the Congress of despising the Hindus as

Communal, although they are the very bed-rock of the Indian Nation and putting a premium on the treacherous designs of the Moslems, that is really anti-national. So the Hindu Electorates will serve not only the just interest of the Hindus but the real interest of the Nation as well if they refuse to return any one who stands on a Congress ticket and is sworn to this present discipline of the anti-Hindu Congressites, and if they vote for only those who stand on the Hindu Mahasabha tickets and are sworn to represent the wishes of the Hindu Community alone.

But disregarding this wholesome advice of the Hindu Mahasabha the Hindu Electorates persisted in returning the Congress candidates to the Councils and are consequently finding themselves humiliated and betrayed as Hindus even in those provinces where they are in majority and in which seven provinces they could have wielded real political power by forming seven Hindu Sanghatanist Ministries. But if the Hindu Electorates disregard this Hindu Mahasabha mandate and commit the suicidal mistake they committed in the last

Elections—whose fault is it ? Surely, that cannot be laid at the door of the Hindu Mahasabha !

Taking then all these adverse conditions and the short span of about a dozen years of its regular existence into consideration the work that the Hindu Maha Sabha has done or the position it has come to occupy in the National affair is doubtless encouraging and creditable. Let us not forget that the Congress itself was not a whit better organized or more influential in its first twenty years of life. The Congress did not grow over-night. Fifty years and three generations of Hindus have made it what it is. Let those Hindus who feel that the Hindu Mahasabha should have been stronger in an alienated attitude should first ask themselves what have they done to increase its strength. Does their duty as Hindus consist only in sitting on the fence and watching unconcerned the struggle that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sanghatanists are engaged in in defence of the Hindu cause? Should they not rather rush themselves in the lists to succour them, fight shoulder to shoulder

with the Hindu Sanghatanists already in the field against the non-Hindu aggression whether it be Moslem or British and accomplish what is left wanting, to strive more, to sacrifice more than what others have already done? They who do nothing have surely no right whatsoever only to cavil at those who have striven to do what they could for having done so little. If but the Hindus realise this their own duty, realise that after all the Hindu Mahasabha has been the only out-spoken, faithful and devoted advocate of the National interest of the Hindus, fighting against anything that threatens the honour, culture or the political rights of Hindudom and if but at least a crore of Hindus rally round its flag in a true Hindu spirit they can within the next twenty years' time render the Hindu Mahasabha the strongest and the most predominant force in Hindusthan, shaping the destiny of Indian Nation itself in such wise as to mould the Hindus into a free and triumphant people in the world, masters in their own land—land of the Hindus, tyrannising over none and allowing none to dare to tyrannise over them. To the

Hindus at any rate that will be real 'Swarajya': and that is the National goal the Hindu Mahasabha aims at. It may succeed, it may fail: but well has the poet said

> Not failure, but
> Low aim is crime

—V. D. Savarkar



Shri Bhai Parmananda M. L. A.

FOREWORD

The Beginning of the Hindu Sabha Movement

"In 1905 after the partition of Bengal began a new era with the Swadeshi movement. Next year, however, in Dacca, the foundation of the Muslim League was laid under the patronage of the Nawab of Dacca. The foundation of the Muslim League was soon followed by the forcible abduction of the Hindu widows and other inhuman acts perpetrated by the Mohammedan "goondas" in the East Bengal. This gave impetus to the Bengal Hindu youths who established Anushilan Samitis for the purpose of self-defence in various towns of the East Bengal. In 1907 a united Bengal Conference was held. In this political Conference we find two resolutions which unmistakably point to the revival of Hindu self-consciousness. It was resolved "that this Conference views with apprehension the decrease in the normal

find, the Punjab Hindu Sabha addressing a long memorial to His Excellency Lord Minto in June 1909, in which the grievances of the Hindu Community of the Punjab were represented under three different heads. (i) The differential treatment in the distribution of government patronage; (ii) The disabilities imposed upon the Hindus by the Punjab Alienation of Land Act and the Punjab Pre-emption Act; and (iii) the disadvantageous position in which the Hindus would be placed in the matter of representation under the proposed Reform Scheme. With regard to the second grievance it was said that the practical working of the Act has been extremely detrimental to the Hindus in as much as, while almost all the Mohammedan castes have been notified as agricultural tribes, the high class Hindus have been scrupulously kept out even where they have held land and followed agriculture as a profession for several generations. With regard to the Reform-Scheme it was pointed out that "the principle which had been accepted in providing for the separate and special representation of one particular com-

munity, puts educational qualifications at a discount and introduces a new factor of political importance which by giving rise to invidious and unjustifiable distinctions, based purely on de-nominational considerations, will tend to accentuate social feeling and largely militate against the good results that the people of Hindusthan expected from the noble Scheme of Reform initiated by your Excellency." Further on "Nor has any case been made out for any special concession to the Mohammedan community on the score of their alleged historical or political importance, that the government of the country, in almost every case, was acquired by the British from the Hindus; that the vast majority of the Mohammedans in the country are descendants of Hindu converts; that the Hindusthanee Mohammedans have never been rulers of the country and that even at the present time a great majority of the Native States of Hindusthan are ruled by Hindu Chiefs and Princes. are facts, Your Excellency's memorialists respectfully submit, cannot be controverted."

The First Hindu Conference At Lahore.

It seems whenever there were introduced Reforms in the constitution of the country, the Hindus were generally placed under certain disadvantages against which they had to protest. In October 1909 was held the first Punjab Hindu Conference at Lahore, in which all the important Hindus of the Punjab took part; prominent among them were L. Lajpat Rai, L. Hans Raj, Sjt. Bhagat Ishwar Das, L. Ram Saran Das, Pt. Din Dayal, L. Hari Chand, L. Shadi Lal, Pt. Ram Bhaj Dutta, Pt. Thaker Datt Vaid and L. Ganga Ram of Sialkot. The resolutions that were passed in this conference are expressive of the spirit of the resolutions that have been and are still being passed in almost all the Hindu Conferences that were or are still held. The President of the first Hindu Conference was Sir Protul Chandra Chatterji, retired Judge of the Punjab High Court. R. B. Lala Lal Chand was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and L. Shadi Lal its General Secretary.

L. Lal Chand's whole life had been a *life of*

work and sacrifice for the cause of Arya Samaj and the Hindu community. His crowning work was to lay the foundation of the Hindu Movement. Soon after this he passed away. In the words of Sjt. Shadi Lal "his was a strong and independent personality whose force was felt by all who came into contact with him. Steadfastness of purpose sincere devotion to a cause and above all, patient labour, are the abiding examples of his personality and are fully illustrated by the work which he did in connection with the Hindu Sabha of which he was the founder and the mainstay. L. Lal Chand's Address as chairman of the Reception Committee is a very learned document and illustrates how thoroughly he had diagnosed the disease of the country and proposed his remedies for it. I would give here some extracts from his address just to show how correctly he had gauged the position of the Hindus 23 years ago and how true his views are to day as they were then. Referring to the conditions in Hindusthan he says, "The times we live in are characteristically of communal struggle, and survival of the fittest is the all-

predominant and universal law, which rules the issue certainly in animate life if not even in inanimate nature." This is the true order of destiny and our ancient law-giver Manu declared it at a time now measured backwards by tens of centuries. Whatever exists in the world, all that Prajapati has ordained to be the food of living beings. All, both movable and immovable are the food of creatures. The immovable are the food of the movable, the toothless are the food of the toothed creatures, the handless that of the hand-possessed ones, and the timid that of the brave." (Chap. V.-28-29). This law has moulded the destiny of tribes and of nations as of individual composing tribes and nations from the earliest creation of animate life and measured their space of existence with an unerriug scale. A community which does not know itself, does not feel its individual pulse, does not pride in its past and believe in its future, is, to all intents and purposes, a dead and self-effaced community......................In order to exist at all and exist in the midst of a struggle where the universal law is encroachment and

survival of the fittest, the very first and most preliminary need is to realise individual existence. This is as essential as oxygen is for human life. In fact it is the very breath of communal life, and I am glad this consciousness which at one time seemed to be receding into oblivion, is asserting itself in the Hindu Community. Need I say that the movement has taken its rise at the most opportune juncture. The process of dis-integration, if there was integration at any time, which I doubt very much, is in full swing." Further the Hindus are willing to work as comrades on grounds of just equality; if however, there be neither such desire nor willingness then the Hindu community need not fall on its knees to crave for union. It has enough of work for itself, enough of energy to work out its destiny for itself. The Hindu movement, we have met to inaugurate, is founded on deeper forces than imitation can reach. It is keener evolution of self-conciousness forced doubtless by surrounding circumstances, but still as natural as an upheaval is moved by collateral, pressure."

Referring to the decrease in the number of

Hindus he said, "decrease in number signifies a decay in the vitality of the community and numerical strength forms, as it were, the pulse, for adjudging its warmth and vital resources. Whether the depletion be by transfer to other communities, or by ratio of death preponderating over that of birth, the result is the same so far as the losing community is concerned. In one case it is moral death and in the other it is physical. The former process is as dangerous to the interests of the community as the latter, in fact more dangerous and baneful. It means a weakening and loosening of the tie which bind together a community as such. And any such loosening may lead to an abrupt and sudden disaster and dissolution. This has historically happened not unoften. Look at the modern Persians. They are the descendants of the same ancestors as the Parsis living there or here. But is there any community of feeling between the two? I am not sure how far the very presence of Parsis is tolerated in the country of their origin. To cite an instance nearer home there is a very large number of descendants of Hindu ancestors who have now

transferred their allegiance to foreign faiths. They live in the country and breathe the same air as their Hindu forefathers did, and drink the same water, yet are not tired of proclaiming their separate and unmixable existence and claiming separate privileges, as if nothing had ever existed as a common bond between the two communities."

Referring to Hindu culture he has cited the case of a Hindu Advocate General of Madras who was reported to have remarked in a lecture that if he were given a selection between the empire of the world on one side and Hindu epics of Ramayana and Mahabharat on the other, he would reject the former and accept the latter. To this he adds, "whatever sentiments and considerations may have caused Hindu Society to drift away from its true and ancient moorings, the beacon lighted by the Punjab Hindu Sabha ought in time to bring them back to the right channel and to help and strengthen to consolidate and invigorate the Hindu community." "In inter-communal and inter-national struggle all that is required, all that is needed is to use the one generic term

Hindu in order to safeguard Hindu interests. The differences preached and fought upon from day to day and hour to hour seem to me at least wholly un-intelligible.........I will take permission to demonstrate by relating one personal incident. I belong to Bhandari section of the Khatri community. Some months ago I received a communication from some members of my caste at Lahore that they wanted to form a union of Bhandaris to look after and to consolidate their interests. Very naturally the question I put to myself was, what interests has the Bhaddari section to protect and safeguard as distinguished from other Khatri castes? The designation itself came into existence by bare chance, otherwise there was nothing else to discriminate a Bhandari Khatri from an Uppal, Puri or Mehta. I therefore very naturally declined the honour of membership." He finished by telling," "Self-consciousness, fitness, and consolidation are the three crucial factors which mould the destiny of communities and ought to form the watchword of any community that at all desires to exist and live. I am

glad that such consciousness has arisen in the Hindu community. Consolidation and union under Hindu banner must be our first and foremost weapon.

Sir Protul Chandra's address is another long and learned discourse in which the Hindus are instructed on the authority of their Shastras to give equal treatment to the depressed classes and to protect their widows and orphans, and to try to stop them from being converted to other religions. He has, besides, tried to answer the critics by saying that Hindu Sabha instead of throwing any obstacles in the way of national advancement would help the growth of the sentiment of nationality in the country. At the same time referring to the Mohammedan political association, which had recently come into existence but was given great prominence by the Anglo-Indian Press, he said that the Mohammedan claim for superiority and separate electorates would be attended with great risks. What final shape it will take was not yet known. Its effect was in the womb of futurity. But there was no doubt that separate electorates would give a

deadly blow to the principle of nationality for which the Indian National Congress had stood.

I would take the liberty of adding here another extract from a long speech of Lala Lajpat Rai which he delivered on this occasion while seconding the resolution concerning Hindu unity and solidarity, which was proposed by Pt. Din Dayal. "Let me in conclusion say that by aiming at unity and solidariry amongst the Hindus we do not aim a blow at Indian Unity. I am firmly convinced that it is impossible to build an Indian nation from above. The structure must be built from below. It is rather putting the cart before the horse in expecting the Hindus and Mohammedans to unite and make a common cause before bringing about a sense of unity and solidarity amongst the different sections of the Hindu community itself. The attempt to bring about political union between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, has so far met with scant success, it if has not disastrously failed. The reason is obvious. Not because it was unholy, but because it was based upon false ideas and

in utter contempt of facts and existing conditions. The revolt came first from the Mohammedans. They thought that this premature union was likely to injure them. The result is that with the lapse of years the Hindu-Mohammedans problem instead of being within a nearer distance of solution is as far from the desired consummation as it was 20 years ago. Nay, to those who have eyes to see, it is getting more and more complicated every day."

"If instead of repeating the parrot-cry of Indian Unity the Hindus had whole-heartedly applied themselves to the reclaiming of their depressed classes and to the closing up of their ranks, they would have successfully deprived the Mohammedans of the plea that these classes should not be classed as Hindus for political purposes. Thus they would have removed the ground from under the feet of those who have taken advantage of the internal disorganization of the Hindu community to defeat the Reform-Scheme as originally propounded by Lord Morley. I cannot too often repeat that the best way to bring about Hindu-Mohammedan

unity is to strengthen the community......Let the Hindus cease to be Hindus but the Mohammedans shall always be Mohammedans for all times to come. The negation of Hinduism on the part of the Hindus does not mean the negation of Islam on the part of the followers of the latter. The best security, for bringing about a desirable national evolution is to preserve the communal strength. It will then be the interest of the Mohammedans to consent to the obliteration of all religious distinctions for political purposes. In the existing condition of the country their first business is to strengthen themselves and bring about a sense of solidarity and unity in their ranks. This is what to me seems to be the highest patriotism from the Indian point of view."

Later History of the Hindu Movement.

The Hindu Sabha thus started went on working many a year. During 1910, the Hindu Sabha celebrated Hindu festivals and made representations to the Census Commissioner with regard to the ommission of certain classes from being counted among the Hindus. The

Sabha appointed a history sub-committee with L. Hans Raj as its secretary for compiling a true history of the Hindu period. In 1911 a Hindu Conference was held at Amritsar which was presided over by L. Lal Chand. In 1912. again, a similar Conference was held at Delhi at which Sir Shadi Lal presided. The fourth Conference was held at Ferozpore and the fifth one at Ambala and a special session of it at Lohore in which R. S. Lala Murli Dhar was in the chair and L. Ramsaran Dass was the chairman of reception committee. The conference occupied itself chiefly with consideration of the situation created in the Western Punjab on account of lawlessness and rioting in the districts of Jhang, Multan and Muzaffargarh, and a committee was appointed to make a tour in these districts for the purpose of collecting materials regarding the dacoities committed on the Hindus of these districts. This committee consisting of Bakshi Sohan Lal, Fakir Chand and Mehta Bahadur Chand, submitted a thorough and detailed report of the losses suffered by the Hindus of almost all villages in these districts which was duly

printed and presented to the Government as well as to the public. The importance of this work was like the work done by the Hindu Sabha after the Kohat Tragedy.

This was a period of the War and so the Punjab Hindu Sabha had to carry on its work slowly but steadily during the years 1916-17 and 1918. In 1917 we find that a deputation of Hindu Sabha consisting of thirty-four leading Hindu gentlemen headed by Raja Narendra Nath waited upon Mr. Montague the Secretary of State for Hindusthan. During the year 1918 the Punjab Hindu Sabha did some relief work at the time of the prevalence of influenza and opened a relief-fund for the Hindus who were arrested in Kartarpur riots.

For reasons which need not be discussed here, the Hindu Sabha movement could not catch the fancy of the masses of the Punjab or of any other province. It remained a movement confined to a select class of the Hindu population. the common people remaining quite unaffected by it. The greatest service that was rendered by the Punjab Hindu Sabha was to keep the torch of light

burning during all these years. In the year 1919 the whole country came under the influence of a new political movement, as a result of which not only the Hindu movement but the old school of Congress was brushed aside. For the next three years we hear very little about the Hindu Sabha. A universal political awakening in the country coupled with the new religious enthusiasm created among the Mohammadans under the banner of the Khilafat movement, after the failure of the non-co-operation scheme of Mahatma Gandhi, brought the masses of the two communities into a clash with each other. Then followed a period of communal fights or riots including dacoities and murders which awakened the Hindus to a sense of the dangers that lay before them.

This renaissance was the foundation of the new Hindu Sangathan Movement. Although this new movement has been attributed to leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, L, Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhananda but the fact is that Hindu Sangathan arose as a spontaneous product from the whole nation

and had very little to do with any personality. Hindu Sabhas were started in all important towns of the country with a definite programme of Hindu solidarity consisting of Sangathan, Shuddhi and Achhut Uddhar. It seems that the Hindu masses had taken to the Hindu Sangathan movement as a result of a wave of indignation against the Mohammedan community. This wave spent its force in a few years. Swami Shraddhananda alone stuck faithfully to the spirit of the movement and fed it by his own life-blood. His martyrdom, which ought to have filled the people with fresh enthusiasm, produced an adverse influence on the leaders of the Hindu movement. Their enthusiasm soon cooled down and the Hindu movement again suffered a great relapse. The common people love a fight, and always like to work in a field where they can give vent to their indignation. The construtive programme of Hindu Sangthan could no longer appeal to their minds.

The Congress came in with a new programme and set up a fresh agitation against the Government. The new fight was carried

on in various fields. There was to be the boycott of English cloth as well as of other goods. There was a movement of Civil Disobedience in breaking the ordinary laws and ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. There was terrorism carried on by means of secret societies. And in addition to them all, there was constitutional agitation through the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils. Also there were the Moderate leaders who were constantly bringing pressure upon the Government and inducing it to accede to the demands of the people."

The Moslems for their own communal ends made a show of joining the Hindus for some time and this was misread by the Hindus to be the long desired consummation of Hindu Moslem unity. They jumped headlong into the ditch of self-forgetfulness so thoroughly that they did not and cannot realise the ruination of themselves as a Race and a Nation. They, without giving a serious thought to the pros and cons of the line of action they adhere to, ran blindly along the route the Congress, under the Gandhian lead from 1919 onwards,

had chalked out for them. The present Congress policy and programme has been to the Hindoos what the burning flame is for the moths and the unavoidable result will be the racial and national self-immolation of the Hindus, if they do not realise the danger before it is too late.

II

Let us look to the other side. Why are the Hindus so indifferent to the Hindu Mahasabha? They ask what sacrifices the Hindu Mahasabha has made. The answer requires a detailed explanation.

I have always held that the Hindus owe their present position to an illusion to which they have clung in the past two decades. They have been deceived by Congress sacrifices, which have conjured up before them a spectacle of heroism, into believing that the release from bondage which this country has gained in recent years was secured to them by the Congress, the agitation which it carried on against the Government and imprisonment

and suffering which its members courted. The Congress for the gift which it is believed to have given to us has asked for nothing more than our loyalty to it which has included a blind acceptance of its strategy and the political alliances it has established. Subconsciously the Hindus have, perhaps, felt that the Congress, the bestower of the priceless gift of liberty, must have been right in pawning Hindu independence, culture and prosperity in exchange for an elusive Moslem support. In fact the emotion that has accompanied Congress activity in the last twenty years has destroyed in the Hindus, the love of their heritage. They have been too willing to offer themselves as sacrifices at the altar of a Goddess which has surreptitiously given back Hindu offerings to Moslems.

While the Hindus under the spell of the Congress have been gloating over words and empty phrases, the Moslems have made material gains. No one would grudge them their gains, had they not been made at the expense of the Hindus. I propose here to dispel, if I can, the illusion that the recent Constitutional

advance in Hindusthan is a result of Congress activity. As a corollorly to it I shall also endeavour to show that this constitutional advance is not as valuable to the Hindus as they imagine.

To begin with we see today an end of a movement which blinded the Hindus to their own interests. The revolutionary ardour of the Congress had died down with its acceptance of Provincial Autonomy. Much is said about Congress opposition to the Federation, but to take the Congress at its own words, it will accept office under the Federation if certain provisions in the Government of India Act 1935 are altered. Indirect Elections to the House of Assembly, the undemocratic nature of representation of States in the Assembly and control of the Viceroy over Army and Foreign affairs arouse the greatest opposition. Safe-guards such as the powers of the Viceroy in legislative matters which are within the pur-view of the elected House need not be removed; gentle assurance that they will be sparingly used will do. Congress opposition to Indirect elections and State Representation is not based

on realistic grounds and it will, I dare say, not be able to hold out against these provisions. Nor is it likely that it will make their alteration a consideration for office acceptance. Indirect elections are more suited to a large country like Hindusthan and State representation had best be left to Rulers of States. The Parliament would never consent to hand over the control of Defence and Foreign affairs to the Assembly. The British are not going to give up the Army by peaceful means. The army is their only safeguard against the huge debt which Hindusthan owes to Britain and for the annual payment of 45 crores of rupees. From that point of view the British army is an army of Occupation and until the advantages of occupation are frustrated by circumstances or British Power weakens, it is a vain hope that the Congress demand in this respect will be met.

In any case it is doubtful if the Congress will insist on this part of its demands. Unrevolutionary activity seems now to have become the priciple of the Congress. The Hindus who participated in mass sacrifices at the behest of Congress leaders now find them-

selves in possession of Constitutional advance which could have been made without Congress intervention. We are almost where we were in 1919 on the eve of Montford Reforms and the provincial autonomy, in working which the Congress seems to be so proud, is a mere dust in the balance as compared with Independence. If this were all, one could at worst deplore Congress activity during the past twenty years as wasteful; but it has done more than merely wasted men's energies. It has hung the dead-weight of Moslem interests round Hindu necks. I am profoundly convinced that but for the policy of the Congress the Hindus today would have been far better off than they are. The unfortunate part of the situation is that the Hindus find no escape from the destiny to which the Congress has condemned them. They still cling to the illusion that the Congress is the Goddess of liberty and do not consider whom this liberty has benefitted. They still return Congressmen to legislatures, while the Moslems League goes from strength to strength.

Why am I urging that we do not owe this

Constitutional progress, restricted as it is, to the Congress ? A brief survey of the antecedents of the present situation will bear me out. The Declaration of August 17th 17, marks the beginning of the extension of self-government to this country. This declaration was made by Britain while she was in the throes of the most difficult war she has ever fought. Britain was pressed at the time for men and money. I do not suggest that the declaration of August 17th was only a bait thrown out to Hindusthan to attract her help. Britain was ostensibly fighting in defence of liberty of the weaker nations and against the growing menace of the blood and iron policy initiated by Bismarck and perfected by Kaisar William. Whatever the motives of Germany in the war, Britain at any rate was not fighting for colonies or territories. With the premises of liberty on which the British people had built up their fighting organization and their enthusiasm for a war which they never sought, they could not continue to govern India absolutely autocratically. When she asked India to help her Britain wanted her to make a common cause with the allies in

defence of which they must stake their possessions and their lives. If liberty was the common cause, its gifts could not be kept from India.

Besides, when Britain sought the help of the United States of America, President Wilson who shared the idealism of the nation over the destinies of which he presided, would not intervene in the war unless it was meant to end that war and create a world from which wars may be banished for ever. President Wilson saw that the rule of one nation over another and the legal sanction given to it so far by the Great Powers was the cause of antagonisms between nations which led to conflicts. Consequently, he made the principle of self-determination for nations the basis of his policy. This was also instrumental in relaxing British attitude towards her Hindusthanee Empire. Hence the proclamation of August 16th 1917.

It is in the fulfilment of this proclamation that the British Government has been taking steps to extend self-government by easy stages to the Indian people. Soon after the close of the war, Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of

States for Hindusthan visited this country in order to study possibilities of increasing the participation of Hindusthanees in the government of the country. The Congress and the Moslem league concluded a pact at Luck-now in 1917 in preparation of the movement which was to follow. It would be idle to urge that the impetus to increasing self-government to Hindusthanees was given at that time by any agitation on the part of the Congress. The Congress at that time in point of fact had not acquired the revolutionary role that it assumed in later years. There was no agitation at the time excepting of course the propaganda of the Home Rule League, newly started by Lokmanya Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in 1920. In December 1919 at the Amritsar Congress held nine months after the Jallianwala Tragedy and revolt in the Punjab Mahatma Gandhi wanted to welcome this scheme and to thank the British Government for extending what was then a generous measure of self-government to Hindusthan. This is significant because the Congress in this country

has been identified whith Mahatma Gandhi. It was Lokmanya Tilak who felt disappointed with the scheme and did not conider it sufficient ly generous to merit the gratitude of the people of Hindusthan. All the same he urged that the Reforms should be worked. It is a welknown fact that Mahatma Gandhi with the help of Pandit Motilal Nehru insisted on the Congress declaring itself in favour of working these reforms and rejecting even the formal expression of dissatisfaction with them which Tilak and C. R. Das wanted to incorporate in the Congress resolution. A few months afterwards that is, on the 1st August, 1920, Lokmanya Tilak died. After him, Mahatma Gandhi who felt so grateful in the beginning of that year to the British Government for introducing what was actually, a very limited form of self-government in the country, found himself at the helm of the Congress and preached to the amazement of many his theories of non-co-operation and non-violence.

It is significant to enquire into the reasons which brought about this change in the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi. The Caliphate was going

to be driven out from Constantinople by the Allies headed by England. It was a challenge to Islamic orthodoxy. Steeped in a sluggish and fanatical antiquity and orthodox as the Moslems of this country have been, they could not witness with equanimity this revolutionary change. A people oppressed and ruled over by a foreign government decided under the leadership of the Ali Brothers to help the Caliphate. The Ali Brothers found that if they could elicit the support of the Congress, they could advance their cause better than if they only relied on the Moslem Community. Lokmanya Tilak, I understand, after the Amritsar Congress met Mahatma Gandhi only once before his death. It was in some meeting at Prayag (Allahabad.) In that meeting Khilaphat question was discussed. Tilak was not in favour of directly taking in hand the Kilaphat agitation, though he favoured every help to the agitation if started by the Moslems. Mahatma Gandhi however attended a conference held by the Moslems and thus occured the alliance between Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, in my opinion one of the most unfortunate episodes

in recent History of Hindusthan. A bargain was struck. The Moslems were to support the Congress for Swaraj in exchange for the Congress supporting Moslems in their battle for the Caliph. Hindu-Muslim unity of the year 1920 on which Congressmen cast wistful glances was not a unity of purpose, of ideals or of culture; it was an alliance as temporary and as open to treachery as alliances in history have been.

The Congress and the Khilafat which even at that time remained separate entities joined hands and Mahatma Gandhi thankful as he had been to the British Government, became its avowed enemy. An important reason for this change in him was that when the Committee's Report was out, they instead of condemning General Dyer who had ordered firing at Jallianwala, had condemned his action as mere 'error of judgement'. In September a special session of the Congress was held and a resolution declaring Khilafat and Swaraj as the ultimate goals of the Hindusthanee people was passed. These ideals were to be achieved by the twin weapons of non-co-operation with the

British Government and non-violent resistance to its rule. At the Calcutta session not all the leaders of public opinion were in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi about this extreme step of non-co-operation which led to all the suffering that the Hindusthanee people later on endured. Desh Bandhu, C. R. Dass and L. Lajpat Rai were prominent among those who differed from Mahatma Gandhi but he was relying on Moslem support to win Swaraj forgetting that Moslem support was given for Swaraj as a corollary to their main Khilafatist purpose being achieved. Swaraj was promised within a year. A loan of Rupees one crore was raised. Khuddar, Charkha and non-co-operation became the corner stones of Congress agitation. Jails were filled with young and old.

In 1922 the Prince of Wales visited Hindusthan. Most of the leaders of the nationalist movement were in Jail. The British Government was anxious that reception should be accorded by Hindusthan to the heir to the throne. Through the medium of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Madan Mohan

Malviya Lord Reading, who was then the Viceroy offered to meet as far as circumstances permitted the demands of the Congress if it agreed to receive the Prince of Wales with the enthusiasm which the future monarch of the British Empire deserved on his visit to the most valuable possession of the British people. Lord Reading went, it is understood, as far as to offer to change the dyarchical system of Government in the provinces to full Provincial Autonomy. Desh Bandhu Dass practically gave his consent. Mahatma Gandhi was also not reluctant to accept the offer, but he made the release of the Ali Brothers from jail a condition of his acceptance of the proposal. The Viceroy, suspecting the Ali Brothers of conspiracy with King Aman Ullah of Afganistan, was not able to accede to Mr. Gandhi's condition. Mahatma Gandhi considered, it would appear, that the release of the Ali Brothers, was more important than the extention of a large measure of self-government to this country. The plan was dropped and after fourteen years of needless suffering the Congress agreed to the present plan of Provincial Autonomy which it

could have had for the asking in 1922. The 1925 plan would have been free from all the handicaps which have been imposed upon the Hindus by the Communal Award which forms a vital part of the new constitution. Is greater proof required of the unstatesmanlike handling of the political problems of this country by the Congress? and no greater betrayal of the Hindus can be imagined than the attitude of the Congress towards the Communal Award.

The ardour with which the hectic compaign of Mahatma Gandhi was pursued cooled down; for the people had been tired of agitation which brought them no results but inflicted on them suffering. Desh Bandhu Dass and Pandit Motilal Nehru gave up boycott of Councils and founded the Swaraj Party, the object of which was to fight the Government not through direct action but "from within". When the Swaraj Pary was formed, Mahatma Gandhi was in jail. A special session of the Congress was held at Delhi to consider this new move on the part of Mr. C. R. Dass and Pandit Motilal. At this special session a resolution was passed, endorsing the formation of the Swaraj Party

and the policy of entry into councils. On his release Mahatma Gandhi did nct approve of this policy and as a protest declared his retirement from politics.

The Swaraj Party fought "from within" but it is dubious how far even this constitutional battle waged by the Congress was successful. The next step in the extention of Self-Government to Hindusthan was already envisaged in the Montagu - Chelmsford Reforms. A commission was to be appointed after the Reforms had been in operation for ten years to consider the possibility of further extention of those Reforms. The appointment of the Simon Commission, therefore, was independent of the agitation of the Congress.

The Royal Commission on Hindusthan presided over by Sir John Simons had no Hindusthanee as its member. This was made an excuse for boycottiug the Commission and when the Commission arrived in Hindusthan, the Congress received it with flags and slogans asking it to go back.

In view of the subsequent happenings it is difficult to justify the boycott of the Simon

Commission. A committee appointed by the Congress under the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru formulated a scheme of Self-Government for Hindusthan and its report which has now come to be known as the Nehru Report makes an interesting reading when we compare its proposals with the proposals made by the Simon Commission. The Nehru scheme of Swaraj is in all vital matters very much similar to the present Constitution excluding of course, certain abnoxious provisions relating to the Communal Award and so forth. The Congress, therefore which condemns the Government of 'India Act' and at the same time works with enthusiasm its provincial part condemns what it formulated under the chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Its criticism is not directed towards those provisions of the present Act which call for the loudest protest and which were not contained in the Nehru Report and those are its communal provisions.

The report of the Simon Commission contained proposals much more suitable for the Government of this country than the present

Act is. The Simon Report condemned Moslem Communalism and paid little heed to the clamour of the Moslems for what they called 'rights' at the expense of other communities. Besides, there is no indication of a Communal Award in that report. The Provincial Autonomy which formed part of the Simon Commission's report is more in accordance with the professed ideals of the Congress and of nationalism than the Provincial Autonomy under the present Act which the Congress has accepted. If the Congress had possessed statemanship and foresight it would have accepted the Simon Commission scheme.

Having started the movement of boycott of the Simon Commission Congress leaders declared that they were not even prepared to read the report of the Simon Commission. The Moslems were naturally not very pleased with it, nevertheless they would have accepted it. The British Government, however, thought that if they could formulate a scheme which would meet with the wholehearted approval of the Moslems, they would make permanent allies of them. The procedure of the Round Table

Conference was, therefore, adopted and the story is so recent that it does not need eleborate narrative. The Congress, however, when the Round Table Conference scheme was proposed started again direct action under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi had not returned to the Congress when in Dec. 27, the Madras Congress passed the Independence Resolution and he declared it childish. Pt. Motilal prevailed up on him to attend the Calcutta Session where Nehru scheme was passed and one year's time was given to the Govt. to accept it. The Govt. did not mind to the ultimatum and so in Lahore Session in Dec. 1929 Independence Compaign was resolved and after sending thirty thousand men, and women to jails, Mahatma Gandhi agreed to a truce as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin conversations and went to the Second Round Table Conference. The opinion is commonly held that Mahatma Gandhi missed another great opportunity. A wise and tactful use of this opportunity might have yielded better and speedier results in 1931, but he wanted — time to arrive at a settlement

with the Moslem Delegates who carried on their talks with him during the day and with Sir Samual Hoare during the night. The result was not unexpected. His visit was a complete failure, which was a triumph for the British Government and the Moslems. He came back to Hindusthan a disappointed man but still sticking to its resolve, was put back into jail.

The present reform scheme was mostly prepared by the three Round Table Conferences which were held in London between the years 1930 and 1933. The proposals of the British Govenment which emerged as a result of these conferences and were embodied in a White Paper with certain modifications which were made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee form the basis of the Government of India Act 1935. Mahatma Gandhi who was then in prison could find only one fault with the White Paper proposals and that was his dislike of separate electorates for untouchables indicating thereby that he did not disapprove of other communal and separatist provisions in that scheme. In his usual dramatic manner he determined to

fast unto death unless separate electorates for untouchables were abolished. This fast produced the Poona Pact which labelled seven crores of people in this country as the depressed classes permanently, tore them away from the Hindus.

Circumstances which were not created by the agitation of the Congress have led from time to time to extention of self-government to Hindusthan. Nor can it be maintained as has been done that though Mahatma Gandhi's direction of politics in this country has not achieved Self-Government and yet he has been responsible at least for the political awakening of the masses of this country. This is a fallacy which needs to be exploded. The awakening of political consciousness among the masses of this country is the result of circumstances created largely by the Great War. It was again the Great War which dispelled ignorance about the 'white man' in this country. It was again the Great War which pressed the British Government to call for Hindusthani help. This appeal could not have been but accompnied by awakening, credit is undoubtedly due to

Mr. Gandhi that he utilized this consciousness to preach his peculiar theories. They may have a moral value but in politics where theories are judged by results they have proved to be useless. Whatever improvement is discernible in the Indian political system can hardly be ascribed to Mr. Gandhi's leadership.

The irresistible conclusion to which this brief survey of the past two decades in this country leads us is that Constitutional advance in the Government of India has not been a result of the sacrifices of the Congress. As a matter of fact the Congress has always opposed those advances. They have been imposed upon us in spite of the obstruction offered by the Congress in worse form than they would have been, but for its politics. If there are defects and safeguards in the 'Indian Constitution' we have to be thankful to the Congress for forcing the British Government to incorporate those safeguards and those defects in it. The boast of the Congress that its sufferings have brought self-government to this country is baseless. No greater evidence is required than the effect of the Communal Award on the

Bengali Hindus, a people who played the leading part in the political advancement of the country and made the greatest sacrifices but it is the Award which quite apart from being anti-national and anti-democrtic, has deprived the great Hindu Community of Bengal of its legitimate place in the political life of the country and reduced them practically to political impotence. The Govt. of the province has passed into the hands of those who did not raise even their little finger in the cause of the country.

But it is an illusion which the Hindus have cherished in spite of the fact that the policy of the Congress has spelled disaster to them. Without Congress intervention the 'Indian Constitution', I am profonndly convinced, would have been free from the evil of Communal Award. The illusion that the Congress has brought freedom to this country deserves to be dispelled as quickly as possible if Hindus are to safeguard the small preserves that are left to them. Presiding at the Hindu Mahasabha Session in Ajmer in 1933, I drew the attention of the Hindus to this point and ex-

plained the Hindu view regarding the new Constitution. That illusion, I cannot make it too abundantly clear, the Congress exploits, to the increasing detriment of the Hindus. In 1920 two courses were open to the Congress. One was to demand freedom as an act of patriotism. In that demand alliances would not have entered. The other was to trade in freedom with the Moslems. This the Congress did. The results are unhappily only too clear. If the Congress had not engineered the theory that liberty can only follow Hindu-Muslim unity, liberty to-day would not be hampered and confined as it is. I am dubbed as a communalist, but I speak from the point of the freedom of the country. How near was our goal, when Hindus and Moslems irrespective of caste and creed, were actuated by patriotism alone? To-day we are seeking Hindu-Muslim unity and not Freedom. The Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible of achievement by pacts and concessions. It (Hindu-Muslim unity) is the very negation of patriotism which knows no Hindus or Moslems.

The real nature of Hindu-Muslim problem

has been quite clarifeed by the recent talks between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress leaders. Mr. Jinnah asserts that the Muslim League should be recognised as the sole representative of the Muslim community; The Congress leaders say that by doing that they nullify the position of the Congress as the nationlist organisation. Mr. Jinnah argues that there are two nations in the country and the Congress ever since the Lucknow Pact has been recognising Moslems as a separate community. The Congress is confroted with the most serious situation. If Mr. Jinnah is right and I believe he is, then the Congress theory of building up a common nationality falls to the ground. The situation has got only two solutions. One is the partition of the country into two and the other to allow a Muslim state to grow within the State. That is sure to take us to a period of trial of strength and in that case the Hindu Mahasabha alone and not the Congress can offer the right solution.

I am convinced that if the Congress had not thought of Hindu-Muslim unity, if Mr. Gandhi had not made his ill-fated pact with

the Ali Brothers, it could have made a significant contribution to the achievement of Freedom. It would then not have nurtured an enemy to its ideals within its own territories.

To-day thanks to the Congress that the Hindus in some provinces bear the twin yokes of the British Govt. and of the Moslems. If there are any that deceive themselves that the Hindus performed an act of self-abnegation for the ideal of liberty, they will be dis-illusioned by what the future holds. Sooner or later, they shall have to come to the Hindu Maha Sabha for their safety and progress.

—Bhai Parmananda

PREFACE

Often Hindus themselves—it is most surprising—ask us questions—Why should there be a separate All-India Organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha, when there is the Indian National Congress which looks after the political interests of all? Why should we not still further strengthen the Congress organisation and seek our political salvation through it? Why should we create divisions amongst the Hindus and come in the way of concentration of all Hindu energy and resources on the furtherance of the Congress cause, that is, development of Nationalism, killing of Communalism and establishment of Poorna Swaraj? Do Hindus want anything else specially for themselves?

These questions must be satisfactorily answered. And they must be answered in a manner as shall appeal to reason and stand the test of logic.

The population of India though composed of one Hindu Race, is divided into three main



Shri Dr. B. S. Moonje

religious communities, Hindus, Moslems and Christians. The Moslems and the Christians are proselytizing communities; in fact proselytisation is the life-breath in their nostrils. They cannot grow and prosper without proselytisation. They therefore exploit every power and opportunity they can secure for stimulating proselytisation. They are, therefore, a daily growing Community, each of them. Hindus, on the other hand, are not a proselytizing community and therefore they cannot recoup the loss they suffer from the encroachments of Moslem and Christian proselytisations. They are, therefore, or have been till now at least, a daily declining Community. Hindus, however, are now fully awakened to the decaying effects of this defect in their sociology. They have now come to realize that Hinduism cannot live, grow and prosper unless it imbibes to the same degree of fanaticism, the exclusive Comunalism of Islam and Christian India. They are, therefore, growing more and more zealous of their natural, legitimate and rightful powers and privileges; so that they may utilise them in checking the further rot of foreign proselytisa-

tion and also in reclaiming whatever has been lost throughout the past centuries of Moslem and Christian proselytisation. Who can find fault with the Hindus cherishing and working for the realization of such a legitimate aspiration, if proselytisation is to be regarded as a free birthright of a free people? Thus there is the fundamental and irremovable cause for religious rivalry and antagonism. Unless the Moslems and the Christians agree honestly and sincerely to stop all further proselytisation or the Hindus meekly agree to submit without retaliation to such proselytisation, who can truthfully aspire to prevent Communalism arising and affecting the vested interests in every sphere of life? Communalism being thus an inevitable part of the daily life, cannot be killed. It is, therefore, not only wrong but actual self-deception to suppose that the Congress can kill Communalism.

If this is so and—who can truthfully gainsay it?—then there is no minority problem in India as European politicians and statesmen understand it. The minority problem of Europe is pre-eminently a racial one; and not religious;

because there is only one religion, Christianity, which is common to all, both minority and majority communities. It being so there is no room there for proselytisation. Neither community can, therefore, aspire to swallow up the other. The minority problem of India, on the other hand, is, if anything, pre-eminently religious and not racial at all; and as such, the fact that the original religions of India, comprised in the generic term—Hinduism—are essentially static and tolerant, as opposed to the foreign religions, Islam and Christianity, which are, on the contrary, equally aggressive and proselytising, adds to the seriousness and the complexity of the problem. Here there is the constant fear of one religion swallowing the other by proselytisation. Say, for instance in Czechoslovakia Czechs cannot swallow the Sudetens; nor the Sudetens the Czechs. But quite contrary is the case in India. Here the foreign proselytising religions are aspiring to swallow all the other static original religions.

Such being the case, the problem of Democracy peculiarly affects the vital interests of the Hindus. Democracy, in its broadest

aspect, means a system of government which is based on the counting of heads. In India, Islam and Christianity being the proselytising religions, the Moslem heads and the Christian heads are yearly increasing in numbers and are hopefully aspiring to swallow up the majority community of the Hindus or to reduce it to a minority community. In Bengal, for instance, during the last 50 years, the Hindus have been reduced from 55% to 45% and the Moslems on the contrary, have risen from 45% to 55%. Do those Hindus, who are at present opposing the Mahasabha, want to remain unconcerned towards this, the most realistic aspect of the problem and really do not mind if, by the time the Poorna Swaraj comes, the Hindus are swallowed and wiped out of existence; or actually reduced to minority and lose their majority position. Is this not a real calamity staring us in the face? To counteract such a calamity, who can inspire and give lead to the Hindus? Can the Congress come to the succour of the Hindus? Obviously not. Thus there is no other organisation than the Hindu Mahasabha, which can legitimately

undertake and discharge this duty effectively. This is the crux of the whole problem.

Having thus far dealt with the fundamental of the problem, and having appreciated the essential helplessness of the Congress in the matter, let us now, from the same point of view, examine the policy and the activities of the Congress, with the object of ascertaining if they are or likely to be conducive to the stability, growth and prosperity of the Hindus.

The general policy of the Congress is the political emancipation of the country, irrespective of considerations based on caste or creed, that is, it works equally for all, whether, by religion, they be Hindus, Moslems, or Christians. Its conception, therefore, of Patriotism, Nationalism, and Democracy is essentially non-communal and takes no cognizance of differences of religion among the nationals of India. Besides the Congress believes that it cannot achieve this emancipation without Hindu-Moslem unity and what is more, it does not desire to bring about such emancipation by any other means than Love

and 'Non-Violence. Such has been and is still the position of the Congress, though, in the practical application of this policy for the solution of the day-to-day problems and controversies that arise inevitably, the Congress has often deviated from the right path and, since the rise of the Mahatma to dictatorship in the Congress, during the last 18 years, the Congress has developed a tendency that may aptly be called a pro-Moslem mentality at the cost of Hindu interests with the ultimate object of placating and winning them over to merge in the Congress.

Now let us see how the Moslems have been re-acting. From the very commencement of the Congress movement, the Moslems have studiously kept themselves aloof and have latterly formed an All-India Organisation of their own, the Muslim League, for the very same objective of the political emancipation of the country which the Congress has been actively working for; but the Moslem scheme of emancipation is essentially and fundamentally based on the essentially communal ambition of winning a domineering position for Islam in

this hoary land of the Hindus. The late Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the inspiring Poet-Philosopher and thought-moulder of the Moslems of India, has been preaching:—

"Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of a man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his cultural and historical traditions. These are things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for; and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of a man happens to be temporarily associated."

"I am opposed to Nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Moslems; I am opposed to it, because I see in it the germs of athestic materialism, which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity."

"Our Ideal is well defined. It is to win, in the coming Constitution, a position for Islam, which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country."

Thus it is quite clear that the Moslems have no idea of Patriotism, or Nationalism, if shorn

of Moslem communalism; nor do they care for Swaraj in India. if the Swaraj does not offer to them a domineering status in the administration of the country. Their one point, on which they have concentrated, for the present, all their energy and intellect and staked everything that ccunts in life, is how to "win" a position for Islam in India, even if it be at the cost of others. Does this, in any sense, mean the need for minority-protection ?

What is the cure to such a mentality ? It has now reached its culminating point; it is no mere bluff. It has now begun to demand division of India into Moslem India and Hindu India. They now want two separate Federations, the Hindu Federation and the Moslem Federation. They further demand that the Moslem Federation should have "the right to admit any other Moslem state beyond the Indian frontiers, wishing to join it."

One of the leading lights of the Muslim League, Haji Sir Abdulla Haroon, M. L. A. (Central), declares from house-tops that "Democracy is not suited to Indian soil, traditions and environments" and while repeating

the demand for two separate Federations, he expresses himself with a determination, which, he asserts, if averted, will lead to Civil War.

Such a mentality cuts at the very root of the aims and objects of the Congress and of all its policies, principles, faiths, philosophy and programme, as were being moulded and developed by no less a personage than Mahatma Gandhi, from the time he entered the Congress since 1920. In the face of such a stubbornly Communal mentality of the Moslems, what hope can the Congress hold out ?

What is the remedy ? Can the soul force of Mahatma Gandhi hypnotise the Muslim League to climb down and give up its truculence? The Congress slogans of "No Swaraj without Hindu-Moslem unity", or "Love and Non-Violence", or "Offers of Blank Cheques," are no remedies. They only generate defeatist mentality in the Hindus and further strengthen the separatist and bargaining mentality of the Moslems. To be frank and boldly truthful, the remedy lies in the robust Nationalism of the Hindu Mahasabha. It is inspired neither by any sordid and poisonous desire to gain illegi-

timate advantages at the cost of other communities; nor tinged with the fear of any community; nor handicapped with the feeling of helplessness and defeatism, because this or that community is not prepared to co-operate and pull its weight in companionship. The Hindu Mahasabha, in its pure and unalloyed Nationalism and in absolute fearlessness arising out of its quite transparent purity of heart, seeks the friendship of all without, however, helplessly depending on it and scrupulously refrains from offending any body gratuitously. It, however, is prepared to fight even against odds, or any unholy combinations as occasion may arise—which God forbid—for the political emancipation of the country on quite non-communal lines.

Can the Congress say so? No, it cannot fight without the previous assurance of help from the Moslems. The Hindu Mahasabha is the only organisation which can be a sure guide to the Hindus and the people generally.

Like the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha also is anxiously seeking for Hindu-Moslem unity; but it does not believe that Swaraj is

impossible of achievement without Moslem co-operation, though its hand is ever stretched for such co-operation on honest and honourable principles. Unlike the Congress, however, it hates bargaining. As for the Hindu-Moslem Unity Mr. Jinnah says to the Moslems:—

"Organise yourself and unite. I make no secret of it that we have got a lot of rubbish in our midst. We must improve, rise up, and weed that out. If we go through that process and bring out better Moslems, the finest steel of the Moslems; and if the Hindus do the same and equally bring out their finest steel, then there will be real unity and on that day, the freedom of India is won."

What else has the Mahasabha been preaching? This is a paraphrase of the age-long Sanatana dictum of the Hindus, in which the Hindu Mahasabha has unshakable faith. Who can say with justice to the contrary? And Mr. Jinnah is no ordinary Moslem. He is, par-excellence, the one man amongst the Moslems, who can deliver goods from his side. If the real Hindu Moslem Unity cannot be attained in any other way, as Mr. Jinnah rightly says,

then it must be admitted that, as the Mahasabha has always been asserting, the ways of the Mahatma and the Congress are not the ways to bring about what Mr. Jinnah calls real Hindu-Moslem Unity, capable of winning freedom for India. And if the Mahatma be right that there can be no Swaraj without Hindu-Moslem Unity, then the ways of the Mahatma and the Congress are not the ways that will lead to Swaraj, much less to Poorna Swaraj. The Swaraj can only be attained if the Hindus, as Mr. Jinnah observes, organise and unite and bend all their energies and concentrate all their resources on the one objective of bringing out the finest steel of the Hindus. In this enterprise and for this purpose, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League of Mr. Jinnah are collateral opponents, preparing eventually for real heart-to-heart Hindu-Moslem unity, having received co-education in the same school of stern and implacable realities and under the same Grand Master, the practical World, and the History of India of the last one thousand years.

If such is the real mentality of the Moslems

and if Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of complete renunciation and surrender, practised with almost religious faith and fervour during the last 18 years, could make no change in their mentality, then the question is—How are Nationalism, Hindu-Moslem Unity and Swaraj to be established ? What is the conception of the Hindu Mahasabha in respect of these, and what remedy does it prescribe ?

The Hindu Mahasabha advises the Hindus to shed their mentality of defeatism brought about by the Mahatma's teachings of 'No Swaraj without Hindu-Moslem Unity;' and remembering the doings of their fore-fathers immediately before the British came, to take courage in both hands and assert the right of the Majority Community. In any country, it is always the right of the Majority Community to establish Swaraj and to create its own Nationalism, to maintain internal Law and Order and to defend the Swaraj from external aggression. Say, in Afghanisthan, Who have established Afghan Swaraj? Who maintain internal Law and Order ? Who defends the Afghan country from foreign invasions ? It is

the special responsibility of the Afghans, the majority community of Afghanisthan, as it is also their noble and happy privilege. The Hindus and the Sikhs, who form the minorities in Afganisthan, help and co-operate with them, but if they were not to do so, does it mean that the Afghans should throw up the sponge and approach the British Prime Minister for a Communal Award ? If we only make up our mind and walk in the footsteps of Afghanisthan and of the Germans, there will be no foundation left for our defeatist mentality and helplessness. A wide vista of live virility and hope, hither-to unexperienced, will be immediatly opened out to us and we will feel the glow and energy of real rejuvenated manhood. The world will then recognise us as men and respect us as such and also feel awe about us. Our so-called minorities will then give up their shrewd friendship with the shrewder Britishers and begin to claim kinship with us as they really are our kins in blood and bones.

Such is the Nationalism that is conceived and practised in everyday life in both Western

and Eastern countries. If it is so, then why should Nationalism be interpreted differently in India? Can the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi conceive of such Communalism? It is Hindu Mahasabha alone which can have the boldness to undertake this sacred duty.

Here it will not be inappropriate to say something about Communism and Bolshevism of the Russian brand which is rising in India and, which is more and more gaining ground within the Congress. So far the differences between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were merely differences in mentalities induced in their respective leaders by differences of their past historical traditions and of their policies and programmes; and hope was not wanting at least in some of the leaders of thought in the Hindu Mahasabha that a day is sure to dawn, sooner or later, when by the experience of the every-day realities of the inter-communal situation in the country, the Congress may grow wiser and, by making mutual adjustments, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha may come nearer and join hands in co-operation and companionship for the realisation of

the common aim of Poorna Swaraj. But recently events have happened and are happening, in connection with the growth of Communism in India, which, if sponsered by the Congress officially, will undoubtedly create fundamental and unadjustable differences and alienation of minds between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, which may God forbid.

In view of the fact that demolition of Religion forms the very foundation of the Russian Communism, it is no wonder that the Hindu Mahasabha regards Communism, as the Archbishop of Edinburgh has rightly characterised it, as "the greatest danger, socially and morally, that faces the world to-day." The Archbishop further says :—

"Its progress has left a hideous trail of violence, bloodshed, and sacrilege where-ever it succeeds in usurping power. Its domination is maintained by a system of tyranny, which for its injustice and ruthless, is unsurpassed in History. Truly might it be said that never in History has such a black tide of evil poured over the world as that which is now pouring from Moscow."

Another authority, Cardinal Goma Thomas, Archbishop of Toledo, blaming Russia for the Civil War in Spain, says :—

"The Tartar soul, the genius of Communist Internationalism, destroyed the Christian sentiments of a large part of the people and made them fight them against Spain."

Such is Communism for which some of the most prominent leaders of the Congress stand. But what is the position of the Hindu Mahasabha in this respect ?

Whether Islam and Christ in India will agree cheerfully to their own demolition, so that the Communism of the Congress leaders may prevail and prosper, bringing in the so-called millennium of honey and milk for all, proving the truth of the prophecy of these leaders that "unless Socialism gathered strength, poverty, unemployment, and starvation were not removable", it is for them to say. But let none doubt that it will be impossible for the Hindu Mahasabha to reconcile itself to the principle of demolition of Religion. The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, hopes and prays that the Congress may not continue to connive

at and allow itself to be swept off the feet by the rising tide of Communism.

If the Congress has wisdom and will follow a skilful strategy the Hindu Mahasabha will always prove a handy organisation to act as a buffer between the Congress and the Muslim League on one side and an effective weapon with which to strike at and subdue the demon of Communism on the other.

Now if I were to summarise the above analysis of the situation, it will not be far from truth if I were to say :—

1. That the entire scheme of the Mahatma of Swaraj in six months based on Hindu-Moslem Unity and removable of untouchability has hopelessly miscarried not only in respect of the time-period within which Swaraj was to be attained; but, what is of vital importance, in respect of the Hindu-Moslem Unity also,

2. That the dream of Mahatma Gandhi of Hindu-Moslem Unity, through complete communal self-abnegation of the Hindus, as vouchsafed by the offers of Blank Cheques and the policy and practice of "organised Love and Non-Violence even unto death," with people

being prepared to die "to a man without shedding the blood of the robber", and also to lose all including, "the liberty and possessions of their families", has so far proved not only a volatile dream but, I would say, a direct instigator of the Moslem proposal of a separate Federation of their own, thus dividing India into Hindu India and Moslem India.

3. That the philosophy of Love and Non-Violence has been thoroughly discredited as a practical means for maintaining internal Law and Order and securing immunity from foreign invasions; as well-as for bringing about Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Even the Congress Min stries, working under the very nose of Mahatma Gandhi, have frequently to requisition the services of the British Military and the Police, for maintaining internal peace.

As for the Hindu-Moslem Unity, it is instructive to note what Mr. Jinnah says. He says that "the Congress wants to dominate over the Moslems and to impose on us Hindu Raj, culture and philosophy. I have made it clear that as long as there is life in me. I will

never allow the Congress to do this. As long as the Congress does not come to us as equals, there can be no peace in the land. It is a matter of life and death for the Moslems."

4. That as regards Non-Co-operation as opposed to Responsive Co-operation, it has been found by actual experience, though the Congress may not admit it in so many words, that Responsive Co-operation, which in itself implies preparedness for fight by Non-Violence and Violence as the occasion and circumstances may demand, pays more than Non-Co-operation.

5. That, as for Nationalism and Evolution of India into a united Nation, the Moslems by their arrogant and suicidal proposal of two separate Federations, have given the ambition a blow from which the Congress working on the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi will not be able to rescue it. Who else can do it other than the Hindu Mahasabha?

Thus it would be seen that the whole edifice of un-natural idealism of Poorna Swaraj through Love and Non-Violence and Hindu-

Moslem Unity built so laboriously and at such tremendous sacrifice of the Hindu interests has now crashed to tatters and the whole show has ended in a most humiliating fiasco. What of Swaraj in six months, there is no likelihood of Swaraj at all. No Nationalism, no united Nation. No Love, no Non-Violence. On the contrary, Moslems defiantly demand separate Federation and threaten Civil War. Hindus, with Mahatma Gandhi on their brains are looking at them vacantly and in awe, unable to understand and trust their own self; because they cannot, on the spur of the moment, shed their studiously cultivated faith of 'No Swaraj without Hindu-Moslem Unity.' In the midst of utter ruin of their own self-confidence, Hindus feel that they are helplessly and hopelessly stranded in the midst of dense woods of prejudices and superstitions, hypocrisies and bluffs, complete loss of self-confidence and hopeless dependence on others, having been entangled in the cobwebs of Truth, Love and Non-Violence. Thus all sacrifices and sufferings of the Hindus have been wasted, so far as the results expected to be achieved from the

political philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi are concerned.

Who can emancipate the Hindus and give them right guidance ? Who can re-habilitate self-confidence in them and again make men of them, children and grand-children of their wn fore-fathers, who, in their own Imperial- sm, had reared up and were running their Swaraj, fighting against three enemies on three fronts at one and the same time, that is, the East India Company in the East and South; the Portuguese on the West; and the Moghuls on the North ? They were not the victims of such unmanly fears that if this or that Community will not co-operate with them, they will not be able to build up Swaraj.

There is only one Organisation and that is the Hindu Mahasabha, which alone can bring about this change of heart in the Hindus. If Hindus desire to survive and to regain the position of Masters in their own home, which rightfully belongs to them, they have no politics other than that of the Hindu Mahasabha.

—B. S. Moonje.

हिन्दू महासभा का कार्य

हिन्दुओं को जागृत करके पुनः प्राचीन गौरव को प्राप्त कराना है।

भारत की हिन्दूजाति की सभ्यता इतनी प्राचीन है कि बड़े २ पाश्चात्य विद्वान् भी निश्चयपूर्वक कुछ नहीं बता सकते। इसके आध्यात्मिक आर्य धर्म के दर्शन शास्त्र इतने पूर्ण और अटल सत्य को प्रकट करने वाले हैं कि जिसकी तुलना में आर्यधर्म से भिन्न मतावलम्बियों का धार्मिक साहित्य कुछ भी नहीं हैं। मोक्ष या निर्वाण आदि परमानन्दप्राप्ति का ज्ञान तो दूर रहा, उन्होंने पूर्वजन्म या कर्मवाद के सिद्धान्तको ही नहीं समझा। उनकी बातें तर्क पर नहीं टिकतीं। वे जीवात्मा की उन्नति के लिये कुछ २ ईश्वरभक्ति आदि का अधूरा सा ही अंध विश्वास का मार्ग बनाते हैं सो भी एक ही पैगम्बर मसीह आदि की ठेकेदारी के आधार पर किन्तु; आर्यधर्म जिसके

ही अंगों को वर्तमान समय में सनातनी बौद्ध, सिक्ख, जैन, आर्यसमाजी आदि कहते हैं, उनके उपदेशों में वैसी ठेकेदारी या गुरुडम को कोई स्थान नहीं। वह तो पूर्ण सत्य के ही आधार पर उपदेश देते हैं। भारत की आर्यजाति ने इतने अवतारी दार्शनिक तपस्वी और राजनीतिज्ञों को उत्पन्न किया है जिनकी गणना भी नहीं हो सकती। प्राचीन समय की बात जाने दीजिये, किन्तु पिछले ऐतिहासिक समय में भी भगवान् बुद्ध जैसा तपस्वी, अशोक जैसा सम्राट् या चाणक्य जैसा राजनीतिज्ञ किसी देश ने उत्पन्न किया हो सो भी देखने में नहीं आता। खेद है कि इस समय हमारे गौरव की वह सब बातें भूतकाल की कहानी रह गई हैं। इस समय तो सर्व प्रकार से हिन्दू पराधीन, दीन, हीन बने हुये हैं। अज्ञानवश अनेक प्रकार के कुरीति रूपी भीतरी शत्रु तथा अन्य बाहरी शत्रु इनको नष्ट कर रहे हैं, इन दोनों प्रकार के शत्रुओं से बचकर इनको जागृत और संगठित करके सर्व प्रकार से उन्नत करना यही हिन्दूसभा का उद्देश्य है।

"कुछ धार्मिक हिन्दू नेताओं यथा लाला लाजपतराय, पंडित मालवीय जी, स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द, भाई परमानन्द आदि ने इसी लक्ष्य से सभा की स्थापना की थी। पिछले बीस वर्ष में हिन्दू सभा के कारण हिन्दुओं में विविध क्षेत्रों में जो जागृति तथा संगठन हुआ है वह प्रत्यक्ष है। यद्यपि आरम्भ में सामाजिक

सुधार तथा अछूतोद्धार, शुद्धि आदि के कार्य में बहुत से सनातनी हिन्दू विरोध करते थे वे भी अब उसके लाभ को समझने लग गये हैं तथा विरोध कम पड़ गया है। महात्मा गांधी जी के कारण हरिजन सेवा की ओर जो कार्य हुआ है उससे अछूतोद्धार के काम को बड़ी भारी सहायता मिली है। इतना होते हुये भी हिन्दू महासभा तथा आर्यसमाज के अधिकांश समाज सेवी राजनैतिक आन्दोलन में कांग्रेस के भीतर चले जाने से और कांग्रेस के कुछ राजनैतिक नेताओं की हिन्दू सभा के प्रति तथा हिन्दुत्व के प्रति अजब मनोवृत्ति के कारण हिन्दू संगठन के कार्य में बाधा भी पहुंच रही है। स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी और लालाजी जैसे प्रभावशाली नेता हमारे बीच से उठ गये हैं। पूज्य मालवीयजी वृद्धावस्था के कारण शिथिल पड़ गये हैं। महात्मा गांधीजी का उपदेश तो समस्त जगत् की भलाई को लक्ष्य में रखते हुए त्याग और तपस्या के लिये ही होता है। उनका प्रधान लक्ष्य आत्मिक उन्नति के लिये ही जनता को तैय्यार करने का है। अन्य कुछ बड़े नेताओं का कार्यक्षेत्र केवल देश के नाम पर राजनीति के लिये ही हो रहा है। वे किसी २ समय तो हिन्दुओं के साथ खुल्लमखुल्ला अन्याय करने पर भी उतारू हो जाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में हिन्दू संगठन के कार्य में शिथिलता आनी स्वाभाविक है। किसी भी जाति की उन्नति उसके मनुष्यों के प्रयत्न पर ही निर्भर करती है। कई लोग कहते हैं कि हिन्दूसभा

क्या कर रही हैं किन्तु वे यह नहीं सोचते कि तुमने हिन्दूसभा या हिन्दू जाति के लिये क्या और कितना प्रयत्न किया या कर रहे हो। जो भी हो, यदि हिन्दू अपने प्राचीन गौरव को प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं, वे फिर से अपनी तथा जगत् की सच्ची उन्नति देखना चाहते हैं तो अपनी प्राचीन संस्कृति और आर्य धर्म की रक्षा तथा उन्नति करते हुए ही आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक प्रश्नों को विवेक के साथ हल करना होगा। अपनी जनसंख्या की रक्षा तथा शारीरिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक उन्नति के लिये तो प्रत्येक हिन्दू का व्यक्तिगत तथा सामूहिक रूप से प्रयत्नशील रहना आवश्यक तथा पवित्र कर्तव्य ही है।"

—जुगलकिशोर बिड़ला

HISTORY
OF THE
HINDU MAHASABHA

OUR PAST

It seems superfluous to dwell on the achievements of the Hindus in the History of nations. Lord Curzon who cannot be accused of sympathy with Indian aspirations said in his address at the Delhi Durbar in 1901 : "Powerful empires existed and flourished here, while the Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods and while the British colonies were still a wilderness and a jungle. India has left a deeper mark on the history, the philosophy and religion of mankind, than any other terrestrial unit in the universe." Prof. Max. Muller in his well-known book, "What India has to Teach us," says, "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has more fully developed some of its choicest gifts; has thought most deeply on the problems of life and has found solutions of some of them, which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India; if I were to ask myself how we here in Europe may draw the corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact more truly human, again I should point to India."

In fact, the Hindus were not only the earliest people who developed a high type of civilisation and disseminated it to the various parts of this earth but were the first great colonisers of the world. There is enough evidence to show that they colonised Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and on the other side they spread so far as the Phillipine Islands.

In spite of the destructive march of the Mohammadan conquest and propaganda, Hindu influence is traceable in Arabian lands, in Persia, in Afghanistan. The buried cities and villages in Central Asia deserts are yielding proofs of Hinduism in those centres of population, now depopulated. Tibet, China, Corea, and Japan were greatly indebted to Hindusthan. The literature extant in Java and Bali was born of Hindu influence and relates to the Sanskrit epics and the Purans. The Hindus had thus, in fact, attained the high position of Jagatguru.

From such heights they fell into the depths of slavery and foreign subjection. The fall was really a terrible fall. During these days of alien rule, the history of Hindusthan, is a tragic account of Hindus, slain, of the intolerant measures, of the temples razed, and mutilated, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders, massacres and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoyed them.

OUR VIRILITY

We faced all those national disasters. How nicely Swatantrya-vir Bar. V. D. Savarkar, in his presidential address at Ahmedabad Session summarises the situation, saying, "But each time we rose and tided them over. The Greeks under Alexander, the great, came conquering the world but they could not conquer Hindusthan. Chandragupta rose and we drove the Greeks back inflicting crushing defeats on them, military and cultural. Three centuries after, the Huns came on us like an avalanche. All Europe and half Asia lay at their feet. They smashed the Roman Empire to pieces. But after some two centuries of a life and death struggle against them we vanquished them in the end under our Vikramaditya, the Great. The Shakas also fared no better. The mighty hands of Shalivahan and Yashodharman beat them a chip. Where are those of our enemies—the Huns and the Parthians and the Shakas—today ? Their very names are forgotten ! Gone, effaced from the face of Hindusthan and the world as well. The virility and the staying out power of our race triumphed over them all.

Then centuries after Mahommedans invaded Hindusthan and carried everything before them. Their kingdoms and Empires seemed to reign supreme !

Though Hindus were divided and disintegrated,

suffered defeats and courted humiliations but for full six hundred years throughout the Muslim ascendancy they carried on a life and death struggle to regain their national honour and glory. At last the Sikh sword in the North, Maratthas in the South and the Rajputs in the Central Hindusthan completely shattered the Moghal Empire and re-established Hindu sway all over Hindusthan right up to the bank of Attak." Veer Savarkar further goes on to say, "But we rallied again and ever since the day that Shivajee was born, the God of War has sided with us. Battle after battle we beat the Moslems in a hundred fields, their Kingdoms and Empires, their Nawabs and Shahas and Badshahas were brought to their knees by our warriors till at last Bhausahib, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hindus, as if symbolically raised his Hammer and literally smashed the very Imperial throne of the Moghals at Delhi to pieces; Mahadajee Shinde held the imbecile Moghal Emperors as prisoners and pensioners in his custody and Hindu supremacy was once more re-established all over the land."

In the meanwhile, before we could recover from the struggle of centuries with Moslems, the English faced us and won on all points. We could not even find time to consolidate what we had heroically snatched from the Muslims' hands. We fell an easy prey to the British sword. But, not long afterwards,

once again the people of Hindusthan rose against the British Domination. This time they suffered a heavy defeat and Hindusthan went completely under the British sway.

ADVENT OF CONGRESS

The British brought with them the Western system of Government, and an alien faith in the form of Christianity. They opened schools and colleges to impart education which was meant to enslave the very convictions of our people. This all resulted in complete Westernization of Hindusthanees. But all this could not check the growing national consciousness of our people and a sort of dis-satisfaction was assuming the form of an under current in the political future of Hindusthan. At this moment, the British contrived another trap, the secret of which Mr. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress revealed to Lord Auckland Colvin in a letter thus, "A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by the British connexion was urgently needed and no more efficacious valve than the Congress could be devised." The few select persons who undertook to guide the political destiny of Hindusthan at that time, had very little knowledge and experience of the antecedents and inclinations of different peoples inhabiting the country and like the old-world philosphers

of Greece, they first fixed upon a political theory of building up a new nation out of the heterogeneous elements to be found here, and then thought of setting up a machinery to carry that theory into practice. The ideal of a new nationalism was set up before the country; and the newly created educated class and the newly established press were made its advocates. For the last fifty years and more, this ideal of nationalism has been moving the whole country and has been our most cherished possession. Our one aim has, therefore, been to form ourselves into a nation, fit to take charge of and control our destinies. The new political theory looked very bright and very attractive at first. The spirit of nationalism had grown up in European countries, and had been working wonders for the last two or three centuries in the creation of new nations of Europe. Naturally we were led to think why we could not become a nation like those of Europe. Where do we stand after a continuous labour of more than fifty years? All the efforts of the Congress school of political thought have ended in utter failure, and the present does not hold out any better promise for the future. We have not succeeded in reaching our goal, as yet and it is even today as farther away from us as ever. On the contrary, the state of affairs, we find ourselves in, at present, is substantially much worse than what it was, when we first

began to march on the road of nationalism. At one time we hugged the illusion that we were to reach our goal soon, but the next moment we were made to feel that our destination was as remote as ever, and that all our race had been in vain.

TWO PROPHECIES

Even in 1909, men like R. B. Lala Lal Chand in the Punjab and Lt. Col. U. N. Mukerji in the Bengal after witnessing the activities of the Indian National Congress even for a period of about fifteen years, came to these bitter but correct conclusions. "My objections against the Congress," observes R. B. L. Lal Chand, "however, are of a different hue. In the first place—and this is the strongest and most serious objection—the Congress proceeded on a wrong assumption of a united nation. The result was that it entirely ignored the Hindu aspect of public and political questions. This fallacy was taken advantage of by the other community to press their vantage point, and, in the end the Hindus lost heavily. They incurred the whole odium for the distasteful work from the Government point of view, and when the time came for rewarding the labours a little, the substantial portion of the reward was assigned to the other community. Not only this, but they were given a political importance which they never possessed before, while Hindus

weɹe lowered in the scale from the position which they had already occupied. And with all these events passing before their eyes, the Congress through its mouthpiece, the Indian Congress Committee, moved not a little finger to render support or help to the Hindu cause. Nay it did not even condescend to give an encouragement to the community in the struggle. On the other hand, its main exponent tried to gag the Hindu mouth against even raising a lament. A movement is judged by it results, just as a tree by its fruits. A tree, however, bright and beautiful it may be in form and figure, yet if it bears bitter or poisonous fruits will be shunned and avoided. The Congress may possess very high ideas of a united India, admirable to look at from a distance, but if the result be bitter I cannot conceive how a Hindu, who has the lεast spark left in him of warmth of Hindu feeling and patriotism, can help and join the movement.

"Even apart from the question of political loss or gain, my objection against the Congress is that it makes the Hindu forget that he is a Hindu and tends to swamp his communal individuality into an Indian ideal, thus making him break with all his past traditions and past glory. I regard this as a very heavy price to pay. The conversion to the new ideal means worse than the effects of foreign invasions that have hitherto hammered the Hindu community. During

these times, in spite of very oppressive circumstances. the Hindus have maintained intact their communal organisation, and why they should now voluntarily surrender and abandon the same passes my comprehension. Moreover, the other community has steadfastly refused to join hands, and under the circumstances it appears to me to be pure imbecility and cowardliness to appear under a united flag. The idea, therefore, set up by the Congress was not only erroneous to start with, but it has become impossible under the declared hostile attitude of the other community. The only possible, nay honourable, course under the circumstances in fact is to start anew on a fresh basis, abandoning, if not pulling down, the fabric which instead of giving political shelter and refuge has exposed the community to winds and hailstorms from every quarter."

Lt. Col. U. N. Mukerji has also thus depicted a very sad tale, in his book, 'A Dying Race: "We, Hindus, are most ridiculously, most contemptibly ignorant. We have no idea about what is going on around us. Others are not quite so ignorant. In the course of his reply to the All India Moslem League, referred to before—the Secretary of State for India told the deputation: 'I know very well, that any injustice, any suspicion that we are capable of being unjust to the Mohammadans in India would certainly

have a very severe and injurious reaction in Constantinople.' I wonder how many Hindus understand the significance of this utterance. A few days later he took the opportunity to proclaim from his place in the House of Lords that 'all the demands of the Mohammadans will be met with in full.' This was practically at the bidding of two Mohammadans, one of whom could scarcely be an Indian. But the English statesmen knew that at the back of these two individuals there was the solid mass of nearly 70 millions of Indian Mohammadans who were waiting for the reply.

"How do the two communities stand to-day? The Mohammadans have a future and they believe in it, we Hindus have no conception of it. Time is with them—time is against us. At the end of the year they count their gains, we calculate our losses. They are growing in number, growing in strength, growing in health, growing in solidarity, we are crumbling to pieces. They look forward to a united Mohammadan world—we are waiting for our extinction.

"The wages of sin is death. We Hindus have sinned deeply, damnably, against the laws of God and nature; and we are paying the penalty.

"In our treatment of our co-religionists lies the germ of our self-destruction. This is the history of the Hindus. The same process is going on around us."

It is, however, a pity that the Bengal Hindus, who are now in a very sad plight, ignored the note of warning given by Col. Mukerji, just as the Hindus of the Punjab ignored the warning of late Lala Lal Chand.

II

THE PRO-MUSLIM POLICY

Soon after the partition of Bengal and the establishment of the Muslim League a pro-Muslim policy was initiated by the Government. Riots by Mohammedans became the order of the day with the result that Hindus, men and women, were maltreated and outraged. None of our leaders did anything to mitigate the sufferings of their Hindu brethren. They were busy with hatching schemes for and producing expanded Legislative Councils. They believed that these were the sole remedies for all Indian sufferings. The result was that Hindu nationality and Hindu sentiments were gradually obliterated and thrown in the back-ground. The origin of Hindu national movement can best be described in the forceful words of Shri Bhai Parmanandji when he goes on to say, "To understand the genesis of the Hindu National Movement we must go back to 1909, the year of the inauguration of the Minto-Morley reforms. In 1906 the Moslem League was established at Dacca and for the first time in British Indian History, communal

representation for the Muslims found statutory enactment in the reforms of 1909. That year which future historians will consider as fateful in Indian history, saw the beginning of a policy of increasing disregard for Hindu interests by the Government and the disappearance of the feeling of unity on the part of Muslims with their Hindu countrymen. The Congress on that occasion, even as it does to-day, considered the attitude of the Muslims as a temporary phase in their political evolution. R. B. Lal Chand had the proud distinction of being the first in this country to foresee that it was not a temporary phase. It has lasted nearly twenty years and the anti-national philosophy of the Muslims is daily gaining ground. R. B. Lal Chand discerned in the mist of political forces which surrounded him, the direction in which the Congress was drifting. He clearly perceived that although the Congress was mainly composed of Hindus, yet it strove, under a mistaken view of Muslim psychology, against Hindu interests. In politics it was a tragic act of self-abnegation on the part of the Hindus.

THE FIRST HINDU CONFERENCE

"In 1911, at the first Hindu Conference held under the auspices of the Punjab Hindu Sabha at Amritsar, R. B. Lal Chand was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Conference was attended by nearly every Hindu of importance in the Punjab and it

was only during the War that the activities of the Hindu Sabha ceased.

"In 1912 R. B. Lal Chand, to whom the Hindus owe an incalculable debt of gratitude for the work he did for them and for the unfailing guidance he gave them, died."

It was the Punjab that kept the flame of Hindu nationalism burning upto 1917, until the repressive policy of the Punjab Government during the time of the great War placed a check on almost every movement in the Punjab.

The contemptible Lucknow Pact came into being in 1916 recognising the existence of "various separate communities whose interests could only be safe-guarded by proposing communal electorate and weightage in representation to Muslims in their minority provinces with acceptance of permanent statutory Moslem majority in the Punjab and Bengal." Such a step was taken by the Congress to bait the Muslim community for coalescing their separate entity into Indian national unity.

ORIGIN OF THE HINDU MAHASABHA

It was in the same year that Pandit Dev Ratan Sharma returned from the Lucknow Session of the Congress. He had been to the Punjab in the days of R. B. Lal Chand—a foremost man in the Punjab, of

sterling worth and clear political foresight and deep devotion to the Hindu Cause. He saw how the Congress and its leaders deceived the Hindus by their formal acceptance of the principle of nationalism and joint electorates whereas in practice they proved so cowards, weak and timid that their own pens signed the principle of national disintegration and allegiance to separate electorates.

The Hindu lethargy, as usual was a hard nut to crack. The Lucknow Pact at least opened their eyes and in 1918--'19 we find the Hon'ble L. Sukhbir Singh working as the General Secretary and Pandit Deva Ratan Sharma working as the Secretary of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Sabha at its Annual general meeting held at Hardwar.

The necessity of such an organisatitn has been keenly felt for several years past. In December 1910, at a meeting of the leading Hindus held at Allahabad, it was decided that an All-India Hindu Mahasabha should be formed with its headquarters at Allahabad. The objects and the rules of the Sabha were settled, the office bearers were elected, but owing to diverse reasons no practical steps could be taken to make the Sabha a reality.

The Hon'ble R. B. Shadi Lal (now Sir) in the course of his inaugural address delivered by him at the 2nd

Punjab Hindu Conference held at Delhi (it being a part of the Punjab in those days) in 1912, urging the necessity of an All India Hindu Sabha, remarked "Suffice it to say that the events of the past four or five years proved beyond the shadow of doubt that with a body which could speak with the authority of the entire Hindu Community behind its back and resist the aggressive action of the Muslim League, the Hindus would not have been in the plight in which they find themselves at present.

"I appeal to the Hindus of the Punjab, to the Hindus of Hindusthan, to conbine and consolidate forces for the future good of the country."

From the record, which we have been able to trace, we only find that the organizers of the Hindu Maha Sabha used to call annual sessions of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha at Hardwar, generally on the occasions of certain annual fairs. The Head Office of the Hindu Mahasabha was located at Hardwar.

The fifth Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference was held at Delhi under the distinguished presidentship of the Hon'ble Raja Sir Rampal Singh K.C.I.E. of Kurri Sadhauli on the 26, 27 and 28th December, 1918. The Subjects Committee formed consisted of representative gentlemen belonging to different provinces of the whole of Hindusthan.

INDIFFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS

The annual session was over but it brought home to the people one bitter truth. Those who attended clearly realised the apathy and indifference of the Congress towards the Hindus. The Congress, the only political machinery in the country would not take up their cause because from the very commencement it had assumed to itself a sentimental ideal and was now afraid to climb down, happen what may, even though the situation may result in disaster to the Hindus. The Hindu leaders and the Hindu Press were then (and are even now) wedded to the Congress cry and equally hesitant to advocate purely Hindu interests. The Hindu Sabha Movement with various vicissitudes—rises and falls, continued, though, the Hindu remained spectator of his own ruin.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION AND KHILAFAT MOVEMENTS

In 1920, side by side with the introduction of reform in the Government of India, we meet with two different movements. The first is the non-co-operation movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi and taken up by the Indian National Congress, and second that of the Khilafat aiming at bringing the Mohammedan community round to make common cause with the Congress. The underlying idea of the Khilafat move-

ment was to preach to the Mohammedan community in Hindusthan that the destruction of the Califate meant the destruction of Islam and that for this the British Government were responsible. The non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements held the field for a period of about two years.

By this time Tilak had died. The reigns of the leadership of the Indian National Congress passed into the hands of Mr. Gandhi. Moderate in his views even up to the Amritsar Congress, he grew extremist. He plunged himself whole-heartedly in the Khilafat Movement, hugged by the illusion of Hindu-Muslim unity which he was burning to purchase at any cost to turn the Satanic Government out of Hindusthan. He held a promise to the Indians to win Swarajya for them within a year, if they would blindly follow him. More than a crore of rupees were collected. Civil Disobedience was started and Mr. Ganhhi so wedded himself with the Khilafat Movement that he attended their all India Conferences, guided their deliberations and in his earnestness was instrumental to send a pious invitation to Amanullah the then King of Afghanistan to invade and conquer Hindusthan for the Muslims. But his dreams remained unrealised. He failed and failed miserably.

The crisis had been reached by the end of the year 1921 and the beginning of 1922. The Bardoli pro-

gramme and Mass Civil Disobedience had been suspended as a result of the Chauri-Chaura Riot and wide-spread reaction had begun to set in throughout the country on account of the postponement of the Swaraj expected within the year. But Mustapha Kemal had saved Turkey and raised the dignity of the Islamic world, and Indian Mussalmans fully roused and organised were seeing the visions of Pan-Islamism, Muslim Federation and a chain of Islamic territories with India in it. Just then a spark was let in the extreme South* which was but the precursor of great events to follow in quick succession leading to the present (Hindu) Renaissance.

THE MOPLA ATROCITIES

The fanatic Moplas of Malabar, who as a result of the intense Khilafat propaganda carried on amongst them, had been dreaming of Khilafat Raj throughout the year and preparing for the same, at last declared that the Khilafat Raj had come. And, in keeping with the usual Islamic history of the past, in order to inaugurate the Khilafat Raj, they began forcible conversions of Malabar Hindus on large scale, lopping off tufts of hair on their heads, forcing circumcision, looting Hindu houses, raping Hindu ladies and perpetrating blood-curdling atrocities of the most inhuman and shameful type.

This was the first great shock to the thinking Hindus during the period of the Congress and Khilafat boom and the reminder of the early achievements of the Khilafat during its palmy days in Hindusthan. But if one Jallian-wala tragedy and the shocked conscience of Mr. Gandhi were needed to rouse the semi-awakened Indians into full consciousness; not one Malabar but a series of Malabars and the shocked dis-illusionment of an inspired Malaviya and Shraddhanand were needed to rouse the sleeping consciousness of the great Hindu Nation—dulled, deadened and suppressed within two centuries by the disappearance of that constant terror and direct social and religious humiliation combined with political servitude which was the characteristic of the previous rule, and very nearly killed by the mistaken guidance of its own great patriots and leaders.

If a Das and Nehru were needed to give impetus to the movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi—a Lajpat, Bhaiji, Moonje, Kelkar and Jayakar were automatically dragged into this Renaissance giving to it the full lustre of their name, support of their influence and the vigour of their activity.

To return to Malabar. The Moplah atrocities resulted in awful suffering, humiliation and indignity to the Malabar Hindus. There was no All-India organisation to look to the Malabar Hindus in their

distress and raise a word of protest or appeal on their behalf. Arya Samajists from the Punjab, however, went to Malabar and offered relief. There was moreover one Hindu heart into which the dart pierced into the hearts of the Malabar Hindus was felt with the same poignant anguish. It was that of Dr. Moonje. He proceeded straight to Malabar to see things with his own eyes and find out if the woeful tale of the atrocities perpetrated by the Moplahs was really true. And what Dr. Moonje saw on reaching there moved him to tears and affected him deeply. He found that all that had leaked out for the papers of the country. was but a small fraction of the horrible sufferings which the Hindus there had to undergo and, that the Congress Enquiry Committee had busied itself more with white-washing the entire affair than scolding the Moplahs and administering relief to the looted, oppressed, humiliated and forcibly converted Hindus. Unfortunately to suppress the details of this tragedy, was also considered politic in national interests. The Malabar tragedy thus opened the eyes of a veteran Marhatta Hindu Nationalist—one of the chief lieutenants of the Lokamanya and a stalwart of the Congress and Swaraj in Maharashtra—to the cause of the Hindu Renaissance. But the Renaissance was just beginning and much had yet to follow. After the

Malabar tragedy the Hindus slept on and the Congress Hindu leaders resumed their complacence. But this was not to be.

Hindu self-oblivion had nearly reached the point of self-extinction and the Unseen Hand begun to shape the course of events in order to awaken those whose sleep it could no longer tolerate.

THE MULTAN TRAGEDY

Malabar was followed by Multan where also worst excesses were perpetrated by the Mussalmans over the helpless Hindus whose life, honour and property—none considered too sacred nor spared. But, there was no Hindu organisation to look after its people, and to speak, agitate, or fight on their behalf. The only great organisation—the Congress—appointed again a Committee of Enquiry and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Babu Rajendra Prasad and some others proceeded to the spot in the company of Hakim Ajmal Khan and other Mohomedan leaders.

The details of the Multan tragedy could not be hushed up like that of Malabar which was far removed from Northern Hindusthan nor could the full blaze of publicity be avoided. Not only the Hindu Congress leaders whose enquiry might be considered prejudiced because they happened to be Hindus but, Hakimji and all the Mohomedan leaders on the spot had to openly

and unhesitatingly admit that the fault lay entirely with the Mahomedans and had to hang their heads with shame at the fiendish excesses of the Multan Muslims.

NEED OF SANGATHAN

During the course of their Enquiry and verification Pt. Malaviya and the Hindu leaders came across incidents too heart-rending and humiliating to mention. They then clearly and unhesitatingly declared to the Hindu and Mussalman Congress leaders that there was no other remedy for such regrettable happenings when Hindus were invariably found unable not only to save their property but even their honour and religion than "Hindu Sangathan"—the organisation and solidarity of the Hindus. Not content with foretelliag the dawn of this Renaissance, Pt. Malaviyaji actually ushered and fathered it at Multan by addressing the Hindus there and making this solemn declaration.

Time after time has Pt. Malaviyaji along with Swami Shraddhanandji, Lalaji and all the prominent leaders of the Renaissance been maligned and attacked by the Mussalmans and the Congress-minded Hindus. They were charged with sinister and selfish motives. They, however, have remained cool, calm and firm.

But an outburst of Muslim fury in Multan was followed by Saharanpur where the same tales of woes and sufferings were repeated.

Each succeeding nail driven into the Hindu heart kept the Hindus aghast and helpless. But this was the first and simply a mild phase of the Renaissance. It needed more violent eruptions of nature to shake them up from deep lethargy.

III

THE DAWN OF RENAISSANCE

The third and active phase or the real tangible dawn of the Renaissance began with the year 1923 in a manner and out of an incident which was neither foreseen nor dreamt of. We shall depict the picture in the following words of Shri Swami Shraddhanand himself with whose entry henceforth begins the Renaissance :

"In the last week of 1922 A. D., while the anniversaries of the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat and its accessories were being held with great 'eclat' in the presence of thousands at Gaya, the All India Kshatriya Mahasabha met quietly at Agra and without any fuss passed a resolution approving of the taking back of four and a half lakhs of Muslim Rajputs within their brotherhood The Kshatriya Mahasabha in its sitting on 31st December 1922 under the guidance of Sir Nahar Singh, K.C.I.E., the Rajadhiraj of Shahpura in Mewar passed the above resolutions. But all these resolutions had an academic value only. Early in January 1923, a Hindu Weekly gave the simple news that four and a half lakhs of Mahomedan Rajputs had

applied for reconversion into Hinduism and that the Mahasabha had granted their application.

"The Mahomedans were roused to action. The first protest meeting, that I know of was held in Patti village in the Lahore district. Maulvies made fiery speeches and threatened to dash the Hindu Muslim unity to pieces if the Hindus dared to tamper with the Malakana Rajputs' adherance to Islam. A report of the Patti meeting appeared in the Mahomedan daily 'Vakil' of Amritsar in its issue of 17th January, 1923. By the fourth week of that month some dozens of Muslim preachers belonging to defferent proselytising bodies were at work in the different Malakana villages of Agra, Muttra and Bharatpur. By the beginning of February more than 50 Moulavies were at work and they had all organised themselves under a strong body of Ulemas.

"It was then and then only that the Hindu community was shaken to its bones and began to open its sleepy eyes. Less than half a dozen Rajput and other volunteers went round to see the actual state of affairs and a conference of the representatives of the different Hindu and Rajput Sabhas was called for 13th February 1923. To that Conference I too was invited. The Bharatiya Hindu Suddhi Sabha was established and a Managing Committee was constituted, of which I was elected the president.

"I left Agra for Delhi the same evening with instructions to draw up an appeal for men and money and to place it for approval before the first meeting of the Managing Committee. I drafted an appeal and went to Agra to place it before the Managing Committee in the meeting which was to take place in the evening of 20th February, 1923.

"The Malkanas were taken back to the Hindu fold by their Hindu brethren in the presence of a thousand of guests from outside."

This is how the great Swami Shraddhanand, the hero and idol of Delhi during the Non-co-operation days—just on his release from jail after his incarceration in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair—was suddenly and inadvertently drawn into a new mission which on the one hand was destined to be one of the prime and immediate causes of the Hindu Renaissance. Men and money began to flow for Shuddhi work from all sides.

Not only the Mussalmans of all types from the Khilafatist and the Muslim Leaguer down to the rabid Moulavi and the man in the street were provoked, but Hindu leaders of the Congress were equally irritated beyond limit. Mr. Gandhi was in Jail and so he could not speak. But almost all other prominent Congress men and even nationalist papers cursed Swamiji and the Shuddhi work, which they held, was

becoming responsible for disturbing the smooth atmosphere of Hindu-Muslim unity so necessary for the speedy attainment of the national goal. Sjt. Rajgopalachariar declared that he cared not though all the Hindus became Mussalmans if only freedom could be attained. Others spoke in stronger and more recriminating tone. So far as the Muslim world was concerned, it was agitated to the highest degree and henceforth there was no more odious person than Swamiji in their eyes against whom open and secret propaganda of hate was carried on by the Ali Brothers alike ending in his cowardly murder three years later by a fanatic Mussalman, set up according to all concurrent signs and informations by a secret Muslim organisation.

In the meantime months had rolled on after the special session of the Gaya Hindu Mahasabha held thereon and it was feared that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji may not forget to fulfil the promise he had made at Gaya of convening in the near future a most representative session of the Hindu Mahasabha. Malaviyaji was requested and reminded amongst others by Swamiji himself and at last preparations for holding the memorable Benares Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in the month of August 1923, began.

THE FATEFUL BENARES SESSION

The Benares Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held in August 1923 in the great compound and

specially decorated pandal of the old Central Hindu College. For the first time during the history of the last two hundred years did the real Hindu 'Chetana' seem to have roused to its utmost depths after its deep and long slumber of self-oblivion. 1,500 delegates besides thousands of visitors had assembled from every corner of the country to pay their homage to the rising sun of the Renaissance. The Sikhs, the Jains, the Buddhists, the Parsies, the Sanatanists and the Arya-Samajists—the Pandits, the non-Pandits, the princes and the poor vied alike in their enthusiasm, affection and respect for raising the dignity of the Hindus. Really, for once, the Hindu 'chetana' had been roused and the great Renaissance ushered in that holiest of holy city of the Hindus—the 'Kashi Punyadham'. The Parsi Mr. Nariman was there, the famous Buddhist monk and leader Anagarika Dharmpal was there, the Akalis and the Udasis amongst the Sikhs were there, the great Pandits of Madras and the Punjab, Mysore and other places, besides those of Benares, like the Hatibhai Sastri, Pandit Girdhar Sharma, Pandit Dindayal Sharma and others were there. Those who were conspicuous by their absence were the great Hindu leaders of the Congress. The Maharaja of Benares was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the President. Rules of the Mahasabha were amended and draft resolutions

were prepared. Proposals for the appointment of Committees to arrive at authoritative and progressive conclusions with due regard to the need of the times, mainly on the questions of removal of untouchability and reconversion or Shuddhi were carried.

Provincial and Branch Hindu Sabhas now began to be organised. Hindu conferences took place in different parts of the country and Hindu opinion now began to be educated and organised everywhere. Shuddhi work, now formally and finally sanctioned by the assemblage of the entire Hindu Society, received great impetus and began to be pushed on with still greater vigour.

THE FIRST BOMB OR THE BENGAL HINDU-MUSLIM PACT

While Hindu life-blood thus began to flow into the veins of the Hindu body politic, the first bomb thrown at it was the Bomb of the Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact entered into by the late Deshbandhu C. R. Das on account of his own political expediencies. By this Pact 60% representation in services in the Corporation was reserved for the Muslims. This forced, sudden and injurious Pact ushered through the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee by the over-powering personality of Deshbandhu Das came as

a great outrage upon Hindu feelings and the whole of Hindu's Hindusthan was beside itself with wrath.

Lala Lajpat Rai was in jail but he wrote a long letter to Mr. C. R. Dass before he went to preside at the Gaya Congress. In this he wrote as follows:—"There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late, and on which I want you to think carefully; and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim History and Muslim Law, aud I am inclined to think, it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of the Mohammadan leaders in the Non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind You remember the conversation, I reported to you in Calcutta, wbich I had with Hakim Ajaml Khan and Dr. Kitchlew, There is no finer Mohammadan in Hindusthan than Hakim Sahib, but can or any other Muslim leader override the Quarn ? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic Law is incorrect, and nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right, then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British, we cannot do so to rule Hindusthan on democratic lines What is then the remedy ? I am not afraid of seven crores of the Mussalmans, but I think the seven crores

in Hindusthan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey will be irresistible. I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Moslem unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Moslem leaders, but what about the injunctions of the Quran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope not. I hope your learned minds and wise heads will find some way out of this difficulty."

KOHAT TRAGEDY, THE LAST STRAW

Soon came the Kohat Tragedy as the crowning incident in the way of the Renaissance and convinced more than ever most of those who had yet remained unconvinced of the imperative necessity of immediate and effective oraganisation amongst the Hindus. The Kohat tragedy is unique for since then Muslim fanaticism has repeated such history again and again within the annals of recent history—a whole population of 20 thousands looted, pillaged, and plundered, moving and migrating, leaving its lands and avocations behind, to another area for food and shelter, under a Government most organised and up-to-date and equipped with all available forces and weapons for maintaining law and order.

Help and sympathy flowed from the farthest Hindu corners. The Punjab Hindu Sabha headed by Bhai

Parmanand and others and the Rawalpindi Hindu Sabha rendered most organised and effective relief sarvice. Organised Hindu awakening, not raised even by Malabar, Multan and Saharanpur, was for the first time indignantly raised loud in protest against the Kohat tragedy. Pandit Malaviyaji, Bhai Parmanadji and other Hindu leaders proceeded to Kohat. had an accurate map prepared of the havoc wrought there and an appeal for the Kohat Hindu Relief Fund was made which met with ready and enthusiastic response.

THE NEED OF SANGATHAN

Lala Lajpat Rai was on board the ship nearing Bombay on his return journey from foreign travels, when he read the thundering news of the Kohat tragedy in the "Bombay Chronicle" and other Bombay papers. This tragic news greatly affected him and as he himself described later on many occasions in private conversations he was once for all convinced for the necessity of organising the long disorganised Hindu nation to be able to protect its life, honour and religion from those at least, who were as well or as ill-equipped for an attack or quarrel as the Hindus.

Henceforth, L. Lajpat Rai, ever great in his patriotism and equally sincere in his feelings for the Hindu Nation—was another great convert to the cause

of the Hindu Renaissance which with the four great and earnest leaders at its top now, i. e. Pt. Malaviya, Swami Shraddhanand, L. Lajpat Rai and Bhai Parmanand and the awakened consciousness of the Hindu Nation shocked and smitten again and again by the happenings of tragic incidents—bore down all opposition before it and carried the Hindu Nation onward to its goal of progress.

A few months after the Benares Session of the Hindu Mahasabha, another grand and special Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held on the banks of the Ganga at Prayag. Babu Rajendra Prasad (now in the Congress) and L. Lajpat Rai also participated in it.

The Kohat tragedy had deeply affected Mr. Gandhi and rudely shaken his confidence in the professed friendship and unity of the Musalmans. Mr. Gandhi felt the responsibility of having weakened Hindu feelings completely by his activities and of having made them repose blind faith in and make the heaviest sacrifices for the religion of the Musalmans—in return for which rewards had quickly followed from Malabar to Kohat.

The Hindu Congress leaders anxious to retain the confidence of Musalmans have always thought it necessary to tabbo their own Hindu organisations and keep studiously aloof from them, whereas the Musalman has never cared for, nor dreamt that a Hindu

could get offended at his actively joining his own Muslim organisation and has himself always openly and actively done so from Ali Brothers, Azad, Ansari down to the ordinary Khilafatist or Muslim Leaguer. Not only this but at the merest news of a Hindu Congressman joining his own Hindu organisation the Congress has cursed and blamed him and declared him as communal and anti-national.

The Hindu Mahasabha leaders, then, felt the necessity of having their own Press, because without a strong Press they could not approach the imagination of the masses. Delhi, being the Capital of Hindusthan, was selected to be the fittest place. So 'Hindusthan Times' in English, 'Tej' in Urdu, and 'Arjun' in Hindi were started as daily papers. The only object of these journals was to propagate the principles of Hindu Sangathan, Shuddhi and Achhut Uddhar. Even the Hindu Mahasabha, Vide Resolution No. 6 of its Working Committee, dated March 13th, 1927 granted a handsome loan to the management of the Hindusthan Times.

IV

The work of the Renaissance, however, now went on with added vigour. The various riots ending with the shocking Kohat tragedy, the awakening created by Shuddhi and the dawn of the Renaissance from the momentous Benares Session had completely awakened the whole Northern Hindusthan. The Punjab, Delhi, U. P., and Behar were now going on ahead. Shuddhi work was proceeding in parts of U. P. and the Punjab and near about Delhi while work amongst the untouchables was being carried on under the guidance of Swami Shraddhanand and L. Lajpat Rai through different organisations.

The deeply affected Hindu heart of Shreeman Seth Jugal Kishore Birla had begun to place its unbounded generousity in the cause of the Hindu awakening at the disposal of Swami Shraddhanand, Pt. Malaviya and L. Lajpat Rai.

In Behar the first Provincial Hindu Conference was held under the presidentship of the recently released Jagatguru Shankracharya, Swami Bharati Krishna Tirtha. Provincial Sabhas were formed in Agra and

Oudh and in both these provinces prominent Rajas like Raja Sir Rampal Singh, Lt. Col. Raja Durga Narain Singh of Tirwa, Raja Meheva and others began to take active interest. L. Lajpat Rai, Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Gokalchand Narang began to re-organise the Punjab Hindus. The Punjab Hindu Sabha organised a number of Provincial Conferences within a period of a few years. A Provincial Conference was organised at Lahore under the presidentship of Pt. Malaviyaji. Pt. Din Dayal presided at the Provincial Hindu Conference, held at Kangra and Dr. B. S. Moonje at Ambala. Barring the non-Bangali Hindus of Calcutta proper, the provinces of Bengal, Assam, Burma and Madras had yet been very little affected except by the Kohat tragedy which too produced only a temporary impression on their minds.

A NEW DANGER

In the meanwhile Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi had brought forth a sensational book (दाइये इस्लाम) which purported to teach the Musalmans the quickest and most comprehensive ways of converting Kafirs to Islam. He sketched out how every Musalman from the lowest to the highest, from the fallen prostitute to the Vakil, the Doctor, the Zamindar and the great Nawab could help the cause of Islam, i. e. the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. The prostitute was required to

exert her influence on her Hindu paramours for bringing them round to Islam, the bangle-seller was required to seduce Hindu girls, the Ekka driver to seduce away Hindu ladies and orphans, the Vakil and Doctor to influence their Hindu clients, the Zamindar and Nawab by their various influences to bring round the Hindu tenants under them to the cause of Islam. Strange to say, this mischievous book with its most wretched and fallen devices of propagating Islam which should have been torn to shreds, denounced and discountenanced by the sensible Muslim leaders, found silently the largest sale in the Muslim community for it fitted in with the mentality of the high and the low alike amongst the Musalmans, who had already begun to work on the lines enunciated by it. The shrewd Khwaja was now an apostle of Islam and was seated high in the hearts of the Muslim community. The Nizam of Hyderabad fixed an allowance for him and other Muslim States and Zamindars followed suit. Instances after instances of Mohamedan Deputy Magistrates, Police and Excise Inspectors, Zamindars and Nawabs acting on these lines were discovered soon after.

It was only when a translation of this book was incidently published that the eyes of the Hindu community were opened and they soon found that secret kidnapping, abduction and seduction of Hindu girls and orphans by Muslim in almost every town of Northern

Hindusthan had become the order of the day. Hindus individually and through their Hindu Sabhas now began to exercise vigilance, detect such dirty attempts, rescue Hindu widows, girls and orphans and bring the offenders to book.

OUR COUNTER PROPAGANDA

The Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha had been organised by Raja Narayanlal Pitti, Pt. Mukunda Malaviya and others and they had come down to attend the Belgaum Special Session of the Hindu Sabha which was also organised by them. The next regular session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Calcutta in the month of April. L. Lajpat Rai, who had taken up the movement with the courage and earnestness characteristic of him, was the President-elect and great enthusiasm was being felt for the Conference. L. Lajpat Rai left for Calcutta after presiding over the second Behar Provincial Hindu Conference at Muzaffarpur where thousands of people had gathered. Great enthusiasm had been created owing to the advent of Bhai Parmanandji along with Lalaji. Sir P. C. Ray was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Session. The Conference was a roaring success.

Immediately after the Calcutta Session, Lalaji reached Assam, toured the Province and entrusted the work of Hindu Sangathan to Mr. T. R. Phookon

with a monthly grant of five hundred rupees. During the course of the year Lalaji visited Bombay where a Provincial Hindu Conference presided over by him was held and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, the Congress veteran leader of Bombay, was drawn into the Hindu Mahasabha as the President of its Provincial Branch at Bombay. He next visited Burma and presided over the first Burma Provincial Hindu Conference. This visit of Lalaji created a great awakening amongst the Hindus of that province. Lalaji visited Sindh and C. P. also that year. The Sindh Provincial Hindu Sabha had been firmly organised by two of the most prominent Congress Hindu leaders of the province. Dr. Choithram and Mr. Jairamdas—formerly the trusted lieutenants of Mr. Gandhi and who have since then again gone back to the Congress—took up the work earnestly with their companions and co-workers and made it a real, living and effective body in those parts.

The office of the Hindu Mahasabha was located from this year at Delhi to suit the convenience of Lalaji and to take advantage of the presence of the representatives of the different provinces coming to attend the sittings of the Legislative Assembly here during its Winter Session. The two years previous to it had seen the tangible dawn of Renaissance, and this year, with the presidentship of Lalaji, was laid the foundation of the real work of the Renaissance, which

has since then gone on steadily in a more and more organised shape.

On the occasion of the Cawnpore Congress in December, 1925, another Special Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held, which was presided over by Sjt. N. C. Kelkar who had already identified himself with the cause of the Renaissance.

THE MOMENTOUS DELHI SESSION

The ninth Annual Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Delhi on the eve of the departure of the members of the Central Legislatures to their homes. General sensation and curiosity was felt in political circles, specially in the Congress Camp, about the resolutions to be passed in that Session. For Bhai Parmanand, one of the most prominent and earnest Hindu Sabha leaders, whose name had been recommended for Presidentship by almost all the Provinces and who would have been certainly elected President had he not himself chosen to withdraw, had been carrying on intense agitation in the papers and on the platform asking the Mahasabha to send its own nominees to the legislatures as Congress nominees did not consider themselves responsible to the Hindu public opinion and had failed to guard Hindu interests, whereas Mussalmans always guarded their own separate Muslim interests and fought for the same.

Bhai Parmanand's arguments were cogent and forceful and based on facts too. A good section of the Hindu public opinion favoured his views while another differed from them. L. Lajpat Rai, till then the Deputy Leader of the Swarajya Party, was already disgusted with the 'walk in' and 'walk out' policy of the party but was still not prepared to allow the Hindu Mahasabha to put its hands directly in the matter. Pt. Malaviya was undecided. The dual seemed to be between Lalaji and Bhaiji. Almost all the prominent Congress Hindu leaders for the first time in the history of the Hindu Mahasabha showed their deep anxiety to be present at this Session—though only to thwart the proposals of Bhaiji. So, several Hindu Congressmen came in as delegates and entered the Subject Committee for this very purpose, while most of the more prominent among them including Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel - the Assembly President, Pt. Motilal Nehru and others chose to bring about indirect pressure upon them by their presence, persuasion, assurance, reason and so-forth.

This Mahasabha Session had therefore gathered a peculiar interest round it. The Session was presided over by Raja Narendra Nath of Lahore, a liberal and moderate in politics, but a man full of the most youthful enthusiasm for the Hindu cause inspite of his old age.

The Council Resolution—the resolution of engrossing interest during the whole session, was thoroughly discussed. Great enthusiasm prevailed. The bigs of the Mahasabha fired their shots—some on one side and some on the other. Bhaiji, Malaviyaji, Lalaji and other leaders—all spoke. Bhaiji was the chief supporter. Lalaji the chief opposer.

At last a via media was found with which almost all the leaders were some how or other satisfied except Bhaiji. The compromise was to the effect that such Congress candidates as might be considered harmful to the interests of the Hindus in the opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha should be opposed and fresh ones nominated by the Mahasabha in their place. It will not be out of place to pen here that Pandit Malaviyaji supported Bhaiji on this occasion.

The spirit of Renaissance seemed to have entered the society and was evidently lifting it up silently and effectively.

HINDU AWAKENING—A MENACE TO BRITISH RAJ

In the midst of this life and death struggle, the Hindus could feel, though very dimly, the very first and most preliminary need to realise the importance of their individual and collective existence. With them it

was a keener evolution of self-consciousness, forced, doubtlessly, by surrounding circumstances and moved by collateral pressure. The English statesmen have ever been watchful of various tendencies of Hindu mind. The Hindu-Muslim unity may bring them, temporarily, some fear but what they dread most is not a patched up Hindu-Muslim agreement but it is Hindu solidarity and Hindu consciousness of self-organisation that concerns them very seriously. The Hindu Sabha Movement at the time was growing in strength. It had caught the fancy of the masses and appealed to their hearts. Shuddhi and Sangathan were becoming the watchwords of the Hindus, whether high or low. The British statesmen who keenly watched the changed mentality and deeply read the sure signs of awakening among the Hindu society could not help giving vent to their feelings and expressing in an unequivocal terms this new force as a 'menace to British Raj.' Here we cannot do better than quote the very words from a letter of Lala Lajpat Raiji to Pt. Malaviyaji. Lalaji happened to be on the board of a ship with an English statesmen, who in the course of talk he had with Lalaji could not help disclosing what he really felt and believed. The letter runs thus :—

" I am writing to you about his (the Englishman's) views on our movement - I mean the Hindu movement. He seems to be thorough anti-Hindu and holds strong

views against Shuddhi and Sangathan like Anglo-Indian officials. They seem to think that the Shuddhi movement, if successful, is bound to lead to Hindu Raj. I am beginning to think that the Shuddhi movement is troubling the Government for the simple reason that it threatens to spoil their plans of weakening the Hindus in numbers and influence. Their chief hopes seemed to have so far been on the chance of thinning their number with a view eventually to make them politically impotent. This makes all the more necessary for us to do all we can to push on the movement."

V

The remarkable and convincing proof of the change wrought by the Renaissance in the Hindu society was to come now from a quarter least expected, thoroughly and fully asleep and stoutly refusing to wake up.

THE CALCUTTA RIOTS AND THEIR EFFECTS

Out of the spark lit in one quarter of Calcutta on the occasion of the Arya Samaj Nagarkirtan, grew up a communal fire and frenzy which burnt fiercely and violently, unstemmed and uncontrolled, for days sending forth its flames in all directions, not only through Bengal but through the whole country. And out of this fire came out the Hindu gold purified, moulded and shining.

Calcutta alone would have hardly awakened the interior of Bengal but the great excesses at Patna and over such a wide area in the interior shook the very hearts of the Hindus of Bengal who, roused from their deep slumber, to a sudden and bitter reality of the situation now looked to the Hindu Renaissance as their immediate saviour and listened to its message with rapturous attention. Hindu Sabhas in all parts of

Bengal had begun to be quickly organised now and the visits of the prominent Hindu leaders like Pt. Malaviya, Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonje followed and were hailed with delight.

The Congress Hindu leaders of Bengal kept almost entirely aloof and no prominent Bengal Hindu Congress leader espoused the great cause. Yet with the firmness, sincerity and sacrifice of the rank and file, supported and helped by the Bengal Hindu Sabha and Hindu public, the Mahasabha and the rest of the Hindus in the country kept on the struggle sustained and unabated.

The Mussalmans of the whole country, including their such prominent nationalists as Maulanas Mohammed Ali & Shaukat Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan, not to speak of others, were beside themselves with rage on hearing of the Muslim reverses at Calcutta and Kharagpur and a momentous Session of the All India Khilafat Conference was soon convened at Delhi where Khilafatists, assembled, lost all control over themselves. The Ali Brothers threw an open challenge to the whole Hindu Community. Even a cool and cautious man like Hakim Ajmal Khan lost his self-control.

Hindus were now able to learn that so long as they are the sufferers in the riots, Mussalman leaders keep quiet and by their silence and most of them even by their active connivance and secret support encourage

the rioters. But when it is their own turn to suffer they cannot, like the Hindu nationalists, keep silent and watching, but will immediately stand up sword in hand to fight for their self-assertion.

Dr. Kitchlew of Amritsar, who had, on release from jail, first made pious utterances and declarations for achieving communal unity, was now working heart and soul for the organisation of the Mussalmans through his newly started 'Tanzim' and 'Tabligh' movement. Not satisfied with the activities of the Muslim League, the Khilafat, and the Jamaitul Ulema, the Doctor named and started his 'Tanzim' and 'Tabligh' movement as an exact reply to the 'Sanghathan' and 'Shuddhi' movement of the Hindus.

THE ELECTIONS OF 1926 AND THEIR RESULTS

The rest of the year of 1926, from August to November, was taken up by the busy election fights in which the whole country including the leaders, workers and the people of both the communities were utterly engrossed, either as party leaders or as candidates, supporters, canvassers, workers, voters and so on. The Hindu Mahasabha had decided not to nominate its own candidates but fight the elections generally interfering only where Hindu interests so demanded. But the general dissatisfaction with the policy of the Swaraj

party and its pro-Muslim attitude lead at last to the formation of two other political parties within the Congress, allied to each other but opposed to the Swaraj party—Responsivist and Independent Congress parties—one led by Pt. Malaviya and Mr. Jayakar and the other by Lalaji. Both were opposed to the 'walk out' policy of the Swaraj party and its anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim attitude in all matters generally. Hindu Sabha-ites were all with Pt. Malaviyaji and Lalaji. Leaders of the Swaraj party, the Responsivist and the Independent Congress parties and of the Hindu Mahasabha, such as Pt. Motilal Nehru, Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhanand, Bhai Parmanand, Dr. Moonje and others visited towns and provinces one after another. Sensation went on increasing everywhere and was at its highest pitch during the last days of the Elections. Some of the most sensational elections like that of Lalaji in the Punjab and Seth Ghanshamdas Birla in the U. P., not to speak of many others highly interesting in their own way, were fought and won or lost by the opposite parties. The result of these elections in all those provinces, where Hindu feeling had gathered strength and where they had organised themselves, proved clearly that Hindu feeling was dissatisfied both with the general policy of Swaraj party and with its attitude in matters affecting Hindu interests. Pandit Motilal's Swaraj Party was broken down in his own citadel, the

U. P. where, both in the Councils and in the Assembly, the Responsivists and Independents or Hindu Sabhaites came out not only on equal terms but more victorious inspite of the stoutest opposition. Similar was the case in C. P., where the Independents and Responsivists won the majority of the seats. In Behar also the Independent Congress party, formed of a small number just on the eve of the elections, won a substantial success. And in the Punjab, the Congress party o Pt. Moti Lal Nehru was miserably defeated. The Punjab Congress President, Dr. Satya Pal, forfeited even his very security. L. Lajpat Rai defeated the Congress candidates in two constituencies at a time.

Throughout the whole of Hindusthan, the Congress was defeated miserably at the polls. The late Pandit Motilal Nehru, was bold enough to have publicly admitted their defeat in these words, "We have not been defeated, rather we have been routed".

SWAMI SHRADDHANAND'S MARTYRDOM

While the election storm had just subsided, preparations for another and the most stirring event of the time were going on in a hidden and nefarious corner of Delhi. This was the shockiug and cowardly murder of Swami Shraddhanand which shook the whole country and the entire Hindu world from one end to the other. It was the last week of

December 1926, when almost the whole of the Congress political India was busy preparing for the Gauhati Session.

The Special Session of the Hindu Mahasabha also met at Gauhati for two days and was presided over by Pt. Malaviyaji. One of the most holy and respected Acharya of Assam, Shree Guruwar Goswami, joined the Session whole-heartedly and hence-forth took up the work of Hindu Sangathan in Assam in right earnest. Owing to the shocking news of the murder of Swami Shraddhanand, a tragic gloom was overcast over the whole Conference and all the Hindus assembled there were deeply agitated. A large number of telegrams kept pouring in not only from different parts of India but even from outside the country—such as Natal and other places, asking the Mahasabha to issue an adequate appeal to the Hindu public for perpetuating Swamiji's memory and mission. Some donations also were received from Natal.

The Session appealed to the Hindus to bear up with this great loss (the murder of Swamiji) with perfect restraint and instead of exhibiting their grief through strong acts of various nature demonstrate it by raising a fitting memorial to Swamiji's memory and mission and by carrying on his work with still greater vigour.

An appeal for raising an All India Swami Shraddhanand Memorial Fund of Rs. Ten Lacs was accordingly made by the Mahasabha. Money for the Shraddhanand

Memorial Fund voluntarily poured in from all sides. It would not be out of place to note that the Working Committee of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha in its sittings at Delhi: dated 25 & 26th January and 10th Feb. 1927, in accordance with the Gauhati resolution, was pleased to create and appoint a very strong and influential Trust to control, look after and manage the All India Shraddhanand Memorial Fund—Vide resolutions nos. 5 and 3, part 1st and 2nd respectively This Board of Trustees included some of the illustrious personalities of Hindusthan such as:

Pt. M. M. Malaviya	R. B. Ram Saran Das
L. Lajpat Rai	Syt. Raja Ram Pal Singh
Raja Narendra Nath	Syt. M. R. Jayakar
Seth G. D. Birla	Dr. B. S. Moonje
Mahatma Hans Raj	Kr. Ganganand Singh
Syt. Bhai Parmanand	Babu Padam Raj Jain
Syt. N. C. Kelkar	Raja Govind Lal Pitti

The list is very exhaustive and contains many other gentlemen of note representing various other Hindu sects.

It is very interesting to mention that a large number of the Trustees are still in the Hindu Mahasabha, guiding its affairs in one way or the other.

We may take the liberty of the Hindu public to quote the resolutions verbatim to enlighten them

more on the subject. The resolutions run thus :—

No. 3 part (1) "The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has, after consulting many leading members of the Hindu Community, appointed the following gentlemen as Trustees of the All India Shraddhanand Memorial Fund."

(Names.........as given above.........35 in all.)

No. 3 Part (2) Para 2. "The Trustees shall select agencies of the Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharma Sabha and the Arya Samaj, including the Bhartiya Shuddhi Sabha and the Dalit Uddhar Sabha of Delhi, to carry out the objects of the Trust as they may consider fit from time to time, subject to such general conditions for the submission and audit of accounts as may be laid down, but the work of Sangathan shall be carried out through the Hindu Mahasabha alone."

It was further resolved in the next clause of the same resolution that out of the total funds of the Trust 25% will be spent by the Mahasabha only on Hindu Sangathan, but it is a matter of great surprise that the Hindu Mahasabha has not availed of this opportunity as yet.

The Renaissance had dawned already. The work of the Renaissance was going on in right earnest. Event after event, and occurrence after occurrence, happening one after another during the last three years had added

greater and greater strength to it, carrying conviction deeper and deeper into hearts, yet unconvinced, and corners, yet unawakened. But every great cause for its final conquest needs the blood of the the martyrs. And the martyrdom in the cause of the Great Renaissance at last came soon enough of no less holy and great a person than the Revered Swami Shraddhanand himself—a hero among men.

On the evening after the murder, it was learnt that lights had been put as a mark of joy and jubilation at the Jumma Masjid of Agra.

A very big defence fund contributed by thousands and thousands of Mussalmans was raised for the defence of Abdul Rashid the murderer of Swamiji and for whom the best counsels were secured. How the murderer was, after having confessed his guilt, advised to feign madness, is a matter known to every body. Another great eye-opener was the incident which occurred on the day the murderer was hanged in Delhi when his corpse was taken in procession by no less than fifty thousand Musalmans of Delhi,—who brought about a riot and looted, plundered and killed some Hindus on the same day in the main streets of Delhi and buried him with full funeral obsequies and honours. Could there be a more occult demonstration not only of the full Muslim support and sympathy behind this murder of one of the most loved and respectable leaders of the Hindus

but of the full approach of it when the perpetrator of it—a wretched and a villain—was transformed into a Ghazi by them ? Still the Mussalmans feel that the Hindus should contribute to cherish brotherly feelings for them.

Nor did Muslim fanaticism end here. This shocking crime was only a part of a general plan laid out throughout the whole of the Muslim community.

CONSEQUENCES OF MUSLIM BARBARITY

More murders of Arya Samajists occurred at different places after short intervals, one of which took place at Pilibhit where a most prominent leader of the Hindus & of the local Arya Samaj, a respectable Zamindar, an Honorary Magistrate, and a Rai Bahadur—was shot down dead by a Mussalman while he was passing with a Hindu procession.

Another murder of an Arya Samajist was effected by fanatic butchers in broad day light at a crowded Railway station, where amongst the passengers waiting for the train was this Arya Samajist Upadesak whom the butchers having recognised, chased, stabbed and killed him at the very spot.

Murders went on and amongst those was also the cold-blooded murder in the Railway compartment of Lala Nanak Chand of Delhi, a staunch and bold Arya Samajist, much hated by the Mussalmans of Delhi. Though

the culprit could not be traced yet it was clear to all the Hindus of Delhi that it was the work of a Muslim.

Soon came the next great event of the day, the notorious 'Rangila Rasul Agitation', which brought about riots, murders, evictions of Hindus from various parts of the Frontier Province, brow-beatings of Justices and everything in its train, compelling even the Government to bow before it.

Mahashe Rajpal—the Publisher of 'Rangila Rasul' had been twice attacked. The 3rd attack, however, proved fatal and he was murdered by a fanatic Muslim in broad day light at his very shop in Lahore.

These sad events had their natural consequences. Ghastly murders could not but rouse the slumbering Hindus to their duty. For some time the Hindu lion gave indications of some awakening but the repeated barbarity of the Muslim 'goondas', secretly at work, it had terrified a section of the Hindus, weakened their spirit and in fact had took away life out of them. The result was that they took shelter under the baneful propaganda of Hindu-Muslim unity, based on Satya and Ahinsa, but more on wooing the Muslims. This made the Hindus all the more cowards and of yielding nature and to our great sorrow we are still reaping the bitter fruit of this suicidal policy.

As for the Hindu Mahasabha Movement and Renaissance, the masses were roused to their utmost,

the climax had reached and its final victory was in sight.

For the leaders at the helms of affairs at the Mahasabha, no better opportunity could have presented itself in the annals of the movement when a prompt, vigorous and more effective propagada on their part would have turned tbe tables and placed the country on the right track for all times to come. But they missed the golden chance and missed it never to get it back again, at least for a long time to come. They too could not remain uncontaminated either by the terrorism of the Muslim 'goondas' or their mistaken faith in the omniscience of the Congress. And even leaders of such calibre as Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gradually faltered— unfortunately for India—and a political dilemma of the first magnitude followed. But dark clouds have their silver linings and out of evil came out good. The Hindu Mahasabha, seemingly weakened, emerged out stronger in as much as it had to shift its heavy responsibility on the strong and broad shoulders of two of its well-tried and trusted generals—Dr. B. S. Moonje and Bhai Parmanand.

VI

BEGINNING OF THE FATEFUL PERIOD

With the advent of Dr. B. S. Moonje and Bhai Parmanand Hindu Mahasabha entered upon a fateful period of its life—a period of struggle, opposition, isolation, self-determination and consolidation.

In the years gone by, the Hindu Mahasabha, if not a corollary of Indian National Congress, at least felt shy of assuming the role of an All India Hindu Organisation, with strong, independent, bold and clear cut policy, taking up matters which concern the whole Indian Community and judging them primarily from the Hindu point of view. The leaders who were, guiding the destiny of the Mahasabha and steering its course were, at once, on one hand wedded to a policy of 'united Nation' based on fallacious premises and on the other hand at the same time sought to prevent further losses to the Hindu Community which it was suffering at the hands of the Muslims. They were, no doubt, serious and honest but simultaneously hesitant and vacillating in their policies. Socially they wanted to make the Hindu Community very strong and united

but politically they sought to keep the Mahasabha tied to the tail of the Congress. Very few people realised and understood the significance of the Hindu Sabha Movement of making Hindu Rashtra free from the yokes of foreign domination and of fortifying itself at all points from attacks of the non-Hindus. It was only the Triumvirate (Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand and Veer V. D. Savarkar), waiting for their turn, who could not allow the Hindus to lose their integrity even in the name of Swarajya.

In April, 1927, Dr. B. S. Moonje presided over the Patna Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha. Some were a bit frightened at Dr. Moonje's election as the president. As he was regarded one of the strongest and most fiery advocates of the Hindu cause, it was feared he might give a bold set-back to the Congress movement. The wavering attitude of our leaders was clearly witnessed when, through this vague fear, he was prevailed upon by these prominent Hindu Sabha and Congress leaders not to read his address, which he had already written, to the audience, and satisfying them simply with a verbal speech from the pulpit. Dr. Moonje, though often yielding to environments, has always remained loyal and true to the Hindu Sabha cause which he boldy espoused and has tenaciously stuck to it through sun and shade with a life-long service to his credit.

Before this 'Moonje-period' in the History of Hindu Sabha Movement, the Hindu leaders and Hindu public had awakened, as we have already mentioned, to the great need of self-defence and self-preservation. But, unfortunately, the Hindu leaders could not take their stand for a long time. They lost ground, obsessed by the sentimental ideal of the Congress that 'served as a film to obscure their vision from the right path.'

THE ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE

In the all Parties Conference (1928) Report (chap. I), we find how a strong current of consciousness among the Hindus at the cold murder of Swami Shraddhanand in his sick bed, was given a turn, quite opposite, of find ing a formula for Hindu-Muslim unity by the Congress leaders. The Report says, "The Gauhati Session of the Congress met in December, 1926 in the shadow of a great tragedy and when differences and conflicts between Hindus and Muslims were at their height. The Congress passed a resolution calling upon the Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Mussalman leaders to devise measures for the removal of the present deplorable differences between Hindus and Mussalmans and submit their report to the All India Congress Committee not later than the 31st March, 1927."

Now commenced, in compliance with these directions, a series of Unity Conferences to settle the Hindu-Moslem problem. It will be admitted that throughout these negotiations the Mohammedans have won the game at every point. Men like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the acknowledged leaders of the Hindu Sabha Movement, came forward with the idealistic proposal of Joint Electorates. But the Muslims were working all along according to a design and programme and they could not be reconciled. Dr. B. S. Moonje as President of the Hindu Mahasabha had all along been puttiug up the Hindu Sabha point of view with all the boldness at his command.

SIMON COMMISSION AND ITS BOYCOTT

The result was that Hindu sentiments were being gradually brought forward and there was the possibility of a strong Hindu Mahasabha Movement throughout the country. But, unfortunatesy for the Hindus, the appearance of the Simon Commission with no Indian member on it, again placed the Hindu Sabha Movement in the back ground and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha joined hands with those of the Congress to oppose the working of the Simon Commission. There being a strong Hindu feeling amongst the Punjab Hindus, they did alone co-operate with the Commission even in the

teeth of opposition to the move of the Hindu leaders in other provinces.

This boycott not only resulted in giving a serious set-back to the Hindu Sabha Movement but also had bitter effects on the formation of the present Constitution with the so-called Communal Award which has reduced our great ancient race to a position of abject slavery and impotency. Bhai Parmanandji, speaking on the present Constitution in the Central Legislative Assembly, closed his memorable speech (March, 1933) with these pathetic words:— "Any kind of vindictiveness on the part of an enlightened government towards the whole people would be unpardonable in the eyes of God and unjustifiable in the eyes of History."

During these days of the boycott of the Simon Commission, Lala Lajpat Rai—a great patriot and one of the pioneers of the Hindu Mahasabha Movement, passed away—a great loss to the Hindus in particular and to Hindusthan in general.

The Hindu Mahasabha decided to raise a large 'fund' to perpetuate the memory of Lalaji. An appeal was issued and in due course of time a sum of Rs. 50,000 was subscribed by the Hindu public through the untiring efforts of the Working President, Dr. B. S. Moonje.

After a short time the Report of the Simon Commission was out. The whole of Muslim India raised a

hue and cry as Sir John Simon, the Chairman of the Commission, though boycotted and was received with black flag demonstrations throughout Hindusthan, did no injustice to the Hindus in general. The Report, therefore, was not received with any satisfaction either by the Moslems or by the Congress people for reasons of their own In the meantime, the Congress launched their Civil Disobedience campaign. The British Statesmen were watching the trend of the movement with all the attention and without any authority the Report and the Recommendations of the Simon Commission were abruptly set aside and in its place much importance was given to an informal body, like the Round Table Conference and its discussions.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND THE ANGLO-MUSLIM ALLIANCE

Dr. Moonje as the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha was invited to the Round Table Conference. Besides him some of the prominent Hindus were also invited in their private capacity. Among them the names of Raja Narendra Nath, Pandit Nanak Chand and Mr. M. R. Jayakar may be mentioned. All of them tried their best to present the Hindu point of view before the British statesmen and the delegates.

The Congress owing to the Civil Disobedience Movement abstained from taking any part in the

deliberations of the Round Table Conference. But, after the so-called truce between the Government and the Congress, Mr. Gandhi went to London and instead of negotiating with the British Government, he began to follow the will-o'-the-wisp theory of Hindu-Moslem unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a foregone conclusion the new Conservative Government of England struck bargain with the Moslem leaders and a friendly alliance was established between the two. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mr. Gandhi's wrong attitude and mis-handling of the situation. As a result of this the Premier took it upon himself to find out a fresh solution of the Communal problem and impose it upon India. This solution was announced on August 17, 1932, under the name of the Communal Award. It was supplemented by another announcement some time later and thus the Anglo-Muslim alliance was complete.

THE SO-CALLED COMMUNAL AWARD

This so-called, 'Communal Award'. however, sealed the fate of the Hindus for ever. Writing on the Hindu-Muslim Communalism and condemning both, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked............"It is also true that the Communal Award is an utter negation of nationalism and is meant to divide Hindusthan into communal compartments and give strength to

disruptive tendencies and thus to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism." Even Dr. Ansari and Mr. Sherwani in a joint statement emphasised the main features of the Communal Award in the following words :—

"Perpetuating and stimulating the cause of dividing Indians, accentuation and extension of communal divisions and creation of fresh communal groups and interests which would shatter all future prospects of communal co-operation, these are the main features of the 'Communal Award'." Later on, Dr. Ansari even went to the length of describing the Communal Award as a 'cup of poison'.

SUICIDAL POLICY OF THE CONGRESS

In face of all this, the Indian National Congress for fear of displeasing the Muslim community adopted a suicidal attitude of neutrality, of neither rejecting nor accepting the Communal Award, which along with the leaders of almost every community in India, it had emphatically condemned.

Agitation against the Communal Award in India was started by Bhai Parmanand on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and afterwards taken up by Pandit Malaviya who created the Congress Nationalist Party within the Congress itself. The British Government after some-time invited prominent public men of India

to appear as witnesses before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee. Dr. B. S. Moonje, Shri Bhai Parmananda, Syt. B. C. Chatterji of Calcutta and R. B. Mehrchand of Peshawar were among those who appeared as witnesses and laid their objections against the Communal Award and the White Paper

THE MEMORABLE AJMER SESSION AND AFTER

Dr. B. S. Moonje was still in England when the memorable session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha was held at Ajmer on October 13, 14 and 15, 1933, under the presidentship of Bhai Parmanandji—a great statesman, practical politician and staunchest champion of the Hindu Cause.

In his Presidential Address, he enunciated his views on the conditions through which the country was passing. At that time many public men, like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Congress Newspapers in the country ran down his views on the ground that he preached co-operation with the Government as he advised the Hindus to capture the Legislatures. But only four months after this these same critics began to subscribe to his views and came to look upon the Council entry as the only political work of any importance. And now what do we see? The Congress Raj is prevalent in seven provinces of Hindusthun. Is it non-co-operation with the Government?

Immediately after assuming the Presidentship of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha, Bhai Parmanandji undertook an all India tour. He visited important towns in all the provinces of Hindusthan, i. e. Agra and Oudh, Behar, Bengal, Bombay Presidency, Maharashtra, the N. W. F. Province and the Punjab. In Maharashtra Province, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Sjt. R. G. Bhidey also joined him. In almost all the cities, mass meetings of the Hindus were held and unanimous resolutions condemning the so-colled Communal Award were passed, texts of which were communicated to the Government and to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

While concluding the Ajmer Session, it would be well to mention certain outstanding events connected with Hindu Mahasabha's policy that was clearly marked in extending its sphere of influence and activity beyond the British India.

The Hindu Mahasabha did not rest content by sending only a cable-gram to the League of Nations, communicating its resolutions and appealing to the League for interference and for application of the League Covenant to the Communal problems in India. But it stirred itself to make serious efforts to end the long cultural isolation of the Hindus at home and of the Hindus in islands, countries and other colonies outside India. The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, carefully looked to the grievances of

the Hindus of Goa and made various attempts to get them removed. Taking advantage of Dr. Moonje's stay in England after the evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee in London, the Goanese Indians requested him to visit Lisbon, the capital of Portugal and to repressent their grievances to the Home Govt. of the Portuguese.

CLOSER AFFINITY WITH THE BUDDHISTS

In 1934, the 26th Centenary of Lord Buddha was celebrated in Japan. The Hindu Mahasabha received an invitation from the proper authorities and it managed to send their representatives to Japan to join and pay homage to Lord Buddha's memory on behalf of the Hindus of India.

The Hindu Mahasabha was emphatically of opinion that the time was ripe for the Hindus of Hindusthan to bring about a closer affinity between them and their brethren, the Buddhists. Bhikshu Uttama, the well known Buddhist monk of Burma was therefore unanimously elected as President of the 16th session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Cawnpore in April, 1935. The acceptance of the presidentship of Hindu Mahasabha on the part of Bhikhshuji was hailed in all quarters in Hindusthan and the Buddhist countries like Japan and China particularly welcomed this new move of the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is interesting to note the incident that took place at the Jubbulpore Conference and to quote an ex-General Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha the position is summarised thus:-

"Therefore, when the next annual session of the Hindu Mahasabha met at Jubbulpore under the distinguished presidentship of Sjt. N. C. Kelkar, the change was complete and even Pandit Malaviya was thrown overboard by the Hindu representatives inspite of all their reverence for him on this question. For, when the Sindh question came up before the Mahasabha Pandit Malaviya again advised the Mahasabha not to take "odium" upon itself of making a settlement impossible by its flat denial but to wait for the report of the sub-committee appointed by the Madras Congress."

But, the Sindh representatives headed by Dr. Choithram and Prof. Ghansham made a touching and emphatic appeal to the gathering asking them not to play the game of "Hide and Seek" but to reject clearly and in plain terms a demand unreasonable on the face of it and accepted as such on all hands. Pandit Malaviya formally opposed it and was heard with the full respect due to him. Dr. Moonje first wanted the representatives to bow to Panditji's advice but when he found that they were unwilling he also respectfully opposed Panditji. Mr. Kelkar though

himself uncommitted also agreed with Dr. Moonje. But, very few delegates voted with Pandit Malaviya and all the rest voted for the rejection of the proposed separation of Sindh. Thus the father (of the Renaissance) saw at least, that the child had outgrown the father.

THE POONA SESSION

Pandit M. M. Malaviya, one of the premier pioneers of the Renaissance, who since the Jubbulpore Session (1928) had ceased to take active interest in the affairs of Hindu Mahasabha, though he continued to remain as one of its Vice-Presidents, presided over the Poona Session held there on 29, 30 and 31st December, 1935. In his presidential address he eulogised the services of Dr. Moonje and Bhai Parmanand and in the end announced that within 12 months he would collect a sum of Rs. one crore for the Hindu Mahasabha to carry on the work according to its own programme which he clearly and at great length explained to the huge audience.

The two most important and contested resolutions, that were passed under the Presidentship of Panditji, concerned with the Removal of Untouchability and the Council entry programme of the Hindu Mahasabha. They may be quoted below verbatim :

1. "The Hindu Maha Sabha further affirms its

faith that untouchability must not be regarded as a part of Hindu religion or social system.

"The Mahasabha recommends to the Hindus the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu Society based on birth or caste in the spheres of public, social and political life in which such distinctions ought to have no application and are out of place in the present age."

2. "The Mahasabha is of opinion that elections to Legislatures should be contested with a view to protecting and upholding the Hindu interest in the Legislatures and leave it to the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to take steps in that connection wherever necessary."

About two nights were spent in discussing the resolution on Untouchability. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Pt. Malaviya and other very important personalities participated in the discussion. It was ultimately carried with an overwhelming majority.

The decision regarding the Council entry was also a momentous one but when the time of election to the Provincial Legislatures came, a conflict arose between the U.P. Provincial Hindu Sabha and Pandit M. M. Malaviya. Although the ostensible cause of the difference was the recognition of a particular Provincial Hindu Sabha when there came into existence two rival parties in the United Province. This rivalry between the parties

was of a few years' standing. The Hindu Mahasabha at the Poona Session decided to conduct their elections and authorised Babu Padam Raj Jain to do the needful in this connection. At Agra the elections took place under the supervision of Bhai Parmananda and Babu Padam Raj Jain and the U. P. Provincial Hindu Sabha was properly recognised. Not satisfied with all this certain interested persons approached Pandit Malaviyaji for interference which resulted in some conflict in the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha and after a number of Working Committee meetings held at Delhi and Benares the problem was finally solved at the Lahore Session of the Hindu Mahasabha when Malaviyaji chose to withdraw.

The Lahore Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was presided over by His Holiness Jagatguru Shankaracharya, Dr. Kurtakoti. Dan Veer Seth Jugal Kishore Birla also attended the Session.

Upto the Ahmedabad Session (1937), Bhai Parmanand for all practical purposes was the Working President of the Mahasabha and guided its policy with all the firmness and courage in him. During this period he made the Hindu Mahasabha a living organisation. The days of keeping the Mahasabha as a subsidiary or a corollary organisation to the Congress with half way policy were no longer to be continued and hence it was re-organised as quite independent of the Congress

with its own principles, aims and objects, policy and programme.

OPENING OF THE NEW ERA

For more than a decade Dr. B. S. Moonje and Syt. Bhai Parmanand carried the torch of Renaissance and of true ideal of India's freedom almost single handed. There were darkness and tempests all around. But the hands that held the torch never wavered. At last came the help, they had been so long looking for. That help was in the person of Swatantrya Veer Vinayak Damodar Savakar. This was the greatest satisfaction for these two fighters for and saviours of the Hindu Race and the future to-day is brightening up by the rising sun of Hindu Rashtra. With the advent of Sjt. Savarkar as president of the Hindu Mahasabha at Ahmedabad Session 1937 a new era opens for Hindusthan and Hindudom.

The presidential address of Veer Savarkar was very forceful and clear! The principles and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha have seldom been explained with such clarity and conviction, as they have been done by Sjt. Savarkar. It was but expected of him. In this Conference the Hindu Sangathan Movement has been set in the context of a philosopoy which is at once irrefutable and deep. Sjt. Savarkar has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that the future of the

Hindus and the part they have to play in lifting this country out of the morass into which it has fallen, lies only along the lines he has suggested. Bhai Parmanand exhorted the Hindus to read the address over and over again. According to him it should serve for them as 'their National Bible', as it comes from the forceful pen of a unique personality, pioneer of independence, possessed of infinite courage and wisdom. It is not surprising, therefore, to know that to meet the daily pressing demand from the Hindu Public and the local Sabhas, many thousand copies of Veer Savarkar's Address had to be published in different languages of most of the Provinces of India.

From the day he took the reins of the Hindu Mahasabha he has plunged himself, heart and soul into the working of the Hindu Mahasabha. In such a short time he has been able to visit almost all the important places in U. P., the Punjab, Rajputana, Bombay, C. P. and Sindh. Everywhere he was welcomed with unique and grand receptions. Unprecedented audience listened to the message of the great patriot with rapt attention and pin-drop silence everywhere.

Veer Savarkar with an unequalled record of service and sacrifice for the cause of our motherland has so impressed the people of Hindusthan at large with his vehement and forceful power of oratory that he could

make them believe in the truth of his mission. Reaction against the Congress policy has also set in. Hindus have begun to realise their blunder in sacrificing their rights and interests at the altar of doubtful political expediency. It is hoped the Hindus would rise to the occasion and follow the great patriot who can alone save them from their national ruin and obtain for us true freedom in the right sense of the word.

In conclusion it may be reminded that "Nations like organisms grow, decay and die. The laws of nature know no mercy. They work without any regard to or feeling for individuals or nations. No trace now is left of the Empires that were once so great, and which exerted such vast influence on the growth and development of mankind. There is, however, one difference between an individual organism and a social organism. An individual organism decays and dies but social organisms in some cases are reborn and get a new lease of life. The recipe that works successfully in bringing about the rebirth of a nation has been either a war or a revolution. For war we are not qualified. Social and political revolution is the only alternative that is left for us, and this we must take in hand, if we want to live and live with honour in our country and on this earth."

EXTRACTS FROM THE

ADDRESSES

OF OUR

PRESIDENTS

HON'BLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH

K. C. I. E. (OUDH)

DELHI, DECEMBER 1918.

"It is difficult, rather impossible, for a person like myself to anticipate the conclusions, which the Peace Conference will arrive at on the questions of international adjustments that are to come before it, but one thing is clear and it is that step will be devised and taken for the practical realisation of those ideals and principles for which this war was fought at tremendous sacrifices and as far as it lies in human power foundation will be laid for lasting peace so as to make such wars remote if not impossible. The most important and momentous idea that has taken its birth from the bitter experience gained in this war is the idea of the formation of a League of Nations. The pre-eminently imperative need of such a League cannot be too highly commended and we hope and trust that it will emerge from the Conference the like of which human history has never seen before and that Hindusthan, the land of Hindus, shall have a place in it. Hindusthan has been no silent partner in this struggle

for freedom and justice; her sacrifices have been great and commensurate with her capacity and resources; so I am confident when the affairs of the British Empire will be re-adjusted in the light of past experiences her position in the Empire will receive just and equitable consideration and she will be allowed to shape her own destiny according to her national requirements. It is not in any spirit of asking recompense for the services rendered by her that Hindusthan claims equal rights, equal privileges, and equal opportunities for her sons within the Empire. They are her birth-rights; but even to hope for them as reward is not beyond the frailty to which human nature is capable of.

"There is one mattter more which is of vital importance to us and deserves to be impressed upon the Peace Conference through the Representatives of the British and Indian Governments. I am sure you are not unaware of the fact that the invaluable treasures of intellectual productions of the Rishis of old were lost to us from time to time during the Mohamedan rule. A large portion of the remnants though small yet priceless has been taken from this country by German travellers and now is in German libraries. As a part of the war indemnity demanded from the Germans by conquering nations we Hindus demand the restoration of such manuscript books and writings

in original to the custody of which we alone are entitled.

"The Reform Scheme promulgated by His Excellency the Viceroy and the right Hon'ble The Secretary of State for India has already received a full consideration in this country. It has been subjected to various forms of criticism from the standpoint of different shades of opinions. It is not for me to go into the details now. The message of 20th August 1917 marks an era in the history of your political progress. The goal of the British rule in India has been defined in unequivocal manner and Self-Government within the Empire is to be the aim and end of that rule; and it is to be attained by progressive stages of realisation. Opinions may differ as to the modes and manners in which this realisation is to be brought about but I believe there are not two opinions as to the liberality of the policy enunciated in the message. I strongly hold that the scheme is a distinct advance towards the progressive realisation of the Responsible Government and with certain modifications and amendments would personally accept it as framed by the illustrious authors.

"We meet this year under very peculiar circumstances. On one side there are general rejoicings all the world over owing to the successful termination of the war and India has greater and special reasons

to share in them to her heart's content but on the other side the high prices, famine, and the epidemic of Influenza have caused vide-spread distress amongst the people and have cast a shadow over the country which cannot be too much deplored. We cannot but shed tears of sorrow on the lamentable toll claimed by the latter disease from amongst the high and low. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha has not been unmindful of its duties towards our famine stricken brethren of Garhwal. The Sabha is still in its infancy. It is only five years ago that it was started and during this short period of its existence it has gained strength and force as is evident from its manifold activities on the one hand and the confidence and reliance which the Hindu Community reposes in it by expecting and demanding from it to take the lead in all matters affecting its interests at large on the other. The fact that the appeal of the Sabha to the Hindu public met with the ready and generous response is an index of the place it has now gained in the hearts of the people. In all matters whether political, social or others, affecting the welfare of the Hindu Community, it is to the All India Hindu Maha Sabha that we look to take a lead and I am glad the Sabha has not been behind as far as it lay in its power to put forward the Hindu view of such matters. I congratulate the

Sabha on the success which has crowned its labour so far. But as I pointed out in my Address at Lucknow, we have to contend against many forces which are at work for our disruption and the task of promoting greater union and solidarity among all sections of the Hindu Community and uniting them more closely as parts of organic whole which the Sabha has rightly placed in forefront of its objects is most stupendous and needs co-operation of all well-wishers of the community. From sometime past a movement towards nationalism has been gaining strength in this country and the best and enlightened minds amongst our community have adopted the so-called non-sectarian attitude of being Indian first and Hindu, Mohammedan or anything else afterwards. No body can cavil at the high standard of patriotism that viberates through their hearts. But there is still a higher patriotism towards which humanity is now moving and it is nothing more, nothing less than what the Hindu Rishis of old, of revered memory preached and practised.

"I am sure the Hindu Sabha never means to offend or encroach upon the legitimate rights of any community whether inhabiting India or elsewhere. Its objects should be in this respect only to defend and protect the just and equitable rights of the Hindus against the onslaughts of other peoples. If that is not so, the

word "Hindu" before the Sabha may better be expunged because by its long usage it connotes a community whose very religion is an embodiment of tolerance, catholicity, and spiritualism as opposed to fanaticism, bigotry and materialism. I am afraid I will be taxing your patience too much if I speak on the present state of Hindu Community; suffice it to say that we have lost sight of the high ideals which used to pulsate and animate the hearts of our forefathers. The chief cause is that we are disorganised and disunited. It is for the Hindu Sabha to organise and unite the scattered attoms of our Community and to devise means for the amelioration of the whole, so that we might rise again to the same pinnacle of glory and civilisation which our forefathers had attained. The majority of our Community reside in villages sunk in the lowest depths of misery and ignorance. There is absolutely no provision for the ministration of the spiritual and religious requirements of the people and the result is that their religious ideas are fast drifting into something vague and meaningless.

"The less said about the depressed classes the better. It is for the Hindu Sabha to take up all these matters in hand and to do all that is possible to save the Hindus as Hindu from extinction. Our system of charity has degenerated and is producing a demoralising effect on a vast mass of population; our charitable

endowments are misused and are neither applied nor serve the purpose for which they were made; the majority of our temples and monastries are not now the places for the uplift of the spiritual side of our being, but contrary to that they often debase and produce a pernicious effect on the minds of the people; our Sadhus and so-called Mahatmas have become mere mendicants, and instead of invigorating the moral side of human soul are pests to the country. The study of our sacred and secular languages—I mean Sanskrit and Hindi—is being neglected and Deva Nagari Script has not yet been adopted by the country and in this way we are laying an axe at the very root of solidarity and cohesion which we so much aim at in our Community. Painful is the story to tell of the unfortunate and unwholesome changes in most of the social, political and religious Hindu institutions that were meant for the uplift of the people but are now serving the reverse purpose. I appeal to Hindu Sabha, I appeal to my Hindu brethren to take all these matters in hand and bring about such improvement in them as to make them worthy of the Hindu name. I desire to sound a warning. We are demanding self-determination in all that concerns us politically, the same self-determination should be allowed to the people in social matters and if the Hindu Sabha will act otherwise it shall fail in its object I am sure.

"As president of this Conference I would be wanting in my duty if I do not refer to the communal representation which Minto-Morley Reform Scheme did introduce into this country some years ago; in pursuance of the same principle a settlement has been made and agreed upon between the Congress and Muslim League Leaders. It is a patent fact that Hindu mind got very much agitated not only by the innovation brought about by the said scheme but also by the agreement mentioned above, and the Hindu Sabha is entitled to question the right and privilege of the Hindu Congress Leaders to come to such an agreement. No one can deny that it is wrong in principle and unjust in allowing excessive number of seats to our Muslim brethren and it is a matter of satisfaction that the eminent authors of the new scheme have not failed to notice the disadvantages that would result from it to the country.

"Before closing my remarks on this subject I would remind my Sikh brethren who too now demand a separate representation for themselves that they cannot politically gain more strength by following a policy of separatism than by being with the Community which claims them to be its kith and kin. They should not forget that they are Hindus and will remain Hindus."

HIS HOLINESS JAGATGURU SHANKRACHARYA

(DR. KURTAKOTI), NASIK.

PRAYAG (ALLAHABAD), FEB. 1924.

His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya dwelt at length on the causes that led to the downfall of Hindu Dharma and on the means that can bring about the regeneration and the complete attainment of liberty in all that appertains to the social, political and religious life of the Hindus. In his speech His Holiness appropriately remarked:—

"An untouchable, instead of being considered as something unholy to look at, should be taken as an ideal person, an embodiment of self-sacrifice; and the moment we see and look at him, there must crop up in our mind the feelings of deep love, regard and even veneration for him."

He was emphatically of opinion, that "the next subject of great importance is that of 'Conversion' and 'Re-conversion'. "The person who still doubts in the utility and efficacy of such a practical programme", said he, "can be called no less than an unfortunate fool."

Continuing his speech Shri Shankaracharyaji said :—

"At that time (in Shivaji's reign) the Brahmanas explored books on Hindu Law (Mitakshra) and boldly re-admitted into Hindu fold persons like Gangadhar Rangnath Kulkarni and others who had turned Muslims."

He concluded his speech in these pathetic words :—

"If in these hard times, Hindus do not take seriously in hand this holy work of 'Conversion' and prevent their brethren from embracing alien faiths through mistaken views, I say here as I stand that within ten decades you shall find no Hindu on the surface of this earth."

SHRIYUT LALA LAJPAT RAI, LAHORE.

CALCUTTA, APRIL 1925.

"I want to emphasise on this occasion that our object is to further love and not hatred. The Hindus are religious people. Their scriptures, the Vedas, enjoin upon them to look at the whole universe with eyes of friendship. This, however, does not mean that we should be so sentiment-ridden as to make ourselves incapable of protecting our lives and rights and interests against unjust attacks by others.........We cannot afford to be so weak and imbecile as to allow or encourage others to crush us, nor can we be obsessed by false ideas of Ahimsa but at our peril. Ahimsa is the highest religion, but there is no religion higher than Truth. Ahimsa and Truth must be reconciled, in fact, in essence they are one and the same. But we cannot let others misunderstand us on this point; so that encouraged by our conduct in this respect they may take into their heads to interfere with our rights and to humiliate and destroy us. It may be possible for individuals, nay at some stage of their existence, it may be obligatory on them, to act up to the highest

ideals of Ahimsa. But, as a community, our Ahimsa must be regulated by Dharma as interpreted in the light of time and place. This is the teaching of the ancient Hindu religion. That is the principle upon which they founded the system of Varnas and Ashramas. What may be the highest religion for a Sanyasi, may be the greatest sin for a Grihasti. To confound the duties of the different Ashramas in such a way as to make them untimely and inopportune is making confusion worse confounded. It is a matter of extreme regret for us that we have let the true principles of Varna Ashrama Dharma disappear, and the whole system of Hindu life has been so perverted as to lead to confusion and degradation. Neither the Varnas, nor the Ashramas are to be found in their original condition or any way near them. Whether we can re-establish them on the ancient principle is a question beyond my power to answer. But, I have no doubt, that to impose upon young Grihasties the whole Dharma of a Sanyasi, is entirely opposed to Hindu teachings and Hindu culture. There can only be one result of such a teaching, viz., destruction.

"I am of opinion that we should make a supreme effort to introduce joy into the lives of our children and young men and young women. We should fill them with a hope and with a desire to rise in the world by their own exertions. What is needed is to make

them enterprising and ambitious. No nation can aspire to freedom and prosperity in life whose young men and young women are obsessed by the desire of being unworldly and ambitionless. This necessarily leads to laziness, false contentment, cowardice and lack of spirit and also to unmanliness. This leads the people to taking things lying in and gradually becoming accustomed to slave mentality. A man who has no ambition to be free and prosperous and independent can never be happy, nor can he be a truly religious man. This is not the road to salvation but to destruction.

"The Hindus have so far followed a National policy and, I think, they must stick to that. They will be stultifyiug themselves if they replace their nationalism by communalism. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that there are some communities in India who want to take undue advantage of our nationalism and are pushing forward their communalism to such an extent as is injurious to the interests of the whole nation and certainly disastrous to those of the Hindu Community. Such communalism we are bound to oppose as, in our judgment, it can only lead to permanent slavery, permanent disunity and a state of perpetual dependence.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has no special political functions except to define the position of the Commu-

nity in relation to other communities. The Hindus as a community are opposed to communal representation as such in any shape or form. The preponderance of opinion seems to be that the Lucknow Pact was a mistake.........In the conversation at Delhi, the position of the Hindu representatives was that they would accept any uniform principle of representation applicable to the whole of India subject to one consideration that the electorates in all cases should be mixed, and that the principle of communal representation shall not be extended beyond the legislature. In face of this, to say that the Hindus, as such, are opposed to any compromise is not true. I do not consider that an understanding between the Hindus and the Mohammedans is impossible, but, it must be clearly understood, that the Hindus will not submit to any coercion whatsoever in arriving at some settlement. No amount of riots and disturbances will make them enter into any agreement which they do not consider fair and just.

"We have several evidences of the mentality of the Frontier Mohammedans in this respect. Some Mohammedans have already suggested that all the territories which lie between Peshawar and Agra should be made over to the Mohammedans in which they might establish Mohammedan Government as a member of the Mohammedan League of Nations. At

the last session of Muslim League held at Bombay, M. Mohammed Ali actually suggested that the Mohammedans of the Frontier Province should have the right of self-determination to choose between an affiliation with India or with Kabul.........The question of the Frontier is very important to the whole of India and it specially concerns the safety and security of the Hindu Community. It is not right to say that the territories beyond Indus were taken possession of by the British Government from the Mohammedans... ...The Sikhs held possession of these territories as a part of their Empire, and the British Government took possession of these provinces from the Sikhs. So far as Hindus are concerned, the question is one of pure Frontier defence and should be judged purely on its merits as such. The Hindus do not desire any domination over the Mohammedan population. What they want is the safeguarding of their interests and that of India generally.

"The Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Community as such must take steps to protect their Community from the attempts of other religions to take away their members. Just as their work is legitimate from their point of view, so must be the work of Hindu Community in that line. From the very nature of Hinduism, the Hindu work in that line is purely defensive. The Shuddhi movement is a defensive movement.

"The Hindu Mahasabha stands for this unity of action and I appeal to all the different sections of the Hindu Community to lay aside their differences and unite under the flag of the Hindu Mahasabha. We must recognise the common dangers both internal and external. The external dangers I have already referred to. The internal dangers are still more formidable. We are too much disunited on account of the divisions and subdivisions of the Community into so many creeds and castes.........The old game of throwing out people on very small pretences must be given up and occasions must be sought to bring people back into our fold without injuring anybody's scruples."

SHRIYUT RAJA NARINDRA NATH, LAHORE.

DELHI, APRIL 1926.

"We aim at nationalisation but assume for the present a communal attitude because that attitude has been forced upon us by circumstances.

"Our political advancement will impose upon us the duty of self-defence and for the discharge of that duty all Hindus must be equally eligible and should be equally prepared.

"The sanction given by Hindu society to untouchability and to the treatment meted out to the depressed classes is a negation of democracy and of democratic principles. It is difficult to trace the historical origin of the attitude of the higher class Hindus, towards depressed classes.

"It is very strange that one belonging to depressed classes has only to embrace Christianity or Islam and his untouchability in relation to Hindus disappears at once. A more illogical position it is difficult to conceive.

"Proselytism is not a modern conception in the land of Aryavarta. Buddhism was the first reform

movement amongst the Hindus. The religion which Buddha preached was for the whole of the human race. In the history of mankind Gautam Buddha was the first to promulgate a religion within the folds of which every human being to which-ever race or country he belonged could come. Kabir and Guru Nanak followed him, preached in the same strain, and Guru Gobind Singh gave an organised shape to religion which has sprung from Hinduism and which is based on the same cardinal principles as Hinduism. Swami Dayanand Saraswati in recent times gave a strong impetus to the idea, though the external form which he gave to Hindu religion was different from that of Guru Gobind Singh. The idea of Shuddhi has therefore no connection with recent political movements, and I do not see why those who strive for political advancement should call upon us to give up a movement based on an idea first conceived in the Land of Aryavarta more than 25 centuries ago before Christianity or Islam came into existence and before any religious preacher in the World thought of laying open the path of Salvation to every human being who sought it. Shuddhi is nothing else but proselytism and it passes my comprehension why the right of conversion enjoyed by all other religious communities in the land should be denied to Hindus who in the History of the World were the first to originate the idea. It is unnecessary

to give a comparative numerical table of conversion. I would however lay stress on the fact that the idea of proselytism is pre-eminently our heritage, revived in different shapes by our religious reformers who appeared from time to time. It is very strange that the activities of the Sikhs whom I always designate as our first cousins is not even mentioned in the speeches and addresses delivered by our critics from various platforms.

"As far as the relations between Hindus and Sikhs are concerned, the prospects are hopeful, as the only question on which a split was possible has been settled in a manner satisfactory to the Sikhs. The Gurdwara Act has been passed, without any conflict between the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Council. Mutual controversy terminated at the stage of the Select Committee. I hope that Hindus and Sikhs will continue the spirit of mutual co-operation, and act in unison. I wish I were in a position to say the same thing about Brahmans and non-Brahmans in Madras, perhaps those nearer that Presidency will be able to enlighten us.

"We want adequate measures to be adopted for the protection of the interests of minorities, but we want that such measures of protection should be uniform for all minorities whether Hindu or Mohammedan. We do not wish to create deadlocks, nor do

we wish to convert tyranny of majority into a tyranny of minority. We want no special measures of protection for the Hindu minority anywhere which we do not advocate for Muhammedans. On the contrary our grievance at present is that greater solicitude is shown for the protection of the interests of the Muhammedan minority than for the protection of the interests of Hindu minority wherever it is found to exist.

"To sum up, the "raison d'etre" of the Hindu organisation is, that Hindu interests are nowhere adequately protected, that for the protection of them the united voice of 220 millions should be raised, that Hindu Community owing to its large number, and to its distribution over a very large area lacks solidarity and union which must be brought about and that its attitude towards certain low classes is its own creation and a change in that attitude is necessary for which the Hindu Community more than any other should specially exert. There are some social evils in Hindu Community which a Hindu Organisation only can remove. The Mahasabha is as much an advocate of free and democratic institutions for the country and as eager to obtain Swaraj as any other body. But it notices with regret that so far constitutions have been suggested and framed without due regard to Hindu interests. We are told that political and civic interests of Hindus and Muhammedans are the same. It should

be so, but it is not so in fact, owing to defects in the constitution? Muhammedan interests are being treated as a separate class by itself and this has forced upon us the consideration of the Hindu interests as a separate class. We cannot refrain from devoting serious thought to the consideration of those interests simply out of fear that such a course will give rise to a controversy and may delay our achievement of the goal of Swaraj.

"True Swaraj will be achieved only when justice is done to the legitimate claims of all communities. ......It always takes time for the principles of rectitude and justice to become triumphant."

SHRIYUT DR. B. S. MOONJE, NAGPUR.

PATNA, APRIL 1927.

"I shudder to think what shall happen to Bengal, say 50 years hence, if this course of rapid decline of the Hindus of Bengal is not checked. I am afraid Bengal is fairly on the way to become another Kashmere of India in this respect. I feel from what I have seen and read of the daily happenings in East Bengal particularly that Bengalees alone and unaided by Hindus outside Bengal are absolutely incapable of resisting the inroads of Islam into the preserves of Hinduism there. Let Bengal clearly understand that it may exercise some pressure on the Govt. through the cult of the Bomb and the Pistol, but it will not be able to maintain the pressure until it develops the Lathi cult and proves its capacity of putting down the mischievously aggressive mass Hooliganism.

"The Afghan, before he was allowed to be captured by and absorbed in Islam, was fighting for the preservation and maintenance of Hindu religion and culture with the same tenacity and fearlessness of death as he was fighting for their destruction only three or four

centuries later on, after Islam was forced on him through sheer compulsion in a moment of helplessness of defeat suffered in wars with his Moslem invaders of Central Asia. But how did the Hindu India of the time re-act to this forcible shearing of its most powerful wings? Does History record any evidence of any pang felt in the then entirely Hindu Hindusthan, when such a big and enviable slice as Afghanistan was cut out of it? Did the Hindu Hindusthan of those days make any concerted move to avert the calamity then overtaking Afghanisthan? As for Kashmere and Malabar, History tells the same sorry tale being repeated over there much in the same fashion as in Afghanistan.

"Yet after the Moghul Empire was subverted and the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Marathas in the rest of India had re-established the Hindu Empire, did the Hindus who were as paramount in India then as the Moslems were in their days before they had been conquered, move a finger to recoup the loss in their number sustained through Moslem aggression? Other parts of India also show marks of Moslem aggression narrating equally eloquent tales of Moslem efficiency and hunger of man power on one hand and of Hindu supineness and indifference on the other.

"Thus every Moslem man or woman is a proselytising agent of Islam. The success so far gained by

them is a memorable monument to their faith and tenacity of purpose as it is to our irreligion, indifference and inefficiency. By their assiduous perseverance they have for themselves, by now, built up out of the very Hindus a community of no less than 7 crores, that is, just one fourth of the entire Hindu population of India. The indifference and the present sociology and orthodoxy of the Hindus together with proverbial mildness and docility of temper, and their indulgence in sentimentalism of various kinds of their own creations—such as the excesses of Bhakti Sampradaya and of Ahimsa and non-violence—have been the chief contributors to their monumental success of Islam in India. Their daily work of proselytisation and of building up of their community brick by brick, was so long going on so unmolested and without any noise, that the hope was manufactured in them and they had come to believe as a matter of course that a time will soon come when the 7 crores of the untouchables which the Hindus regard as the refuse of their community shall have been devoured, digested, and assimilated in the Islamic society. They were thus building up castles in their mind that if they can once reach the Hindus at par by assimilation of the untouchables, their aggressiveness in which they feel supreme confidence will stand them in good stead to give such a push to the mild Hindu as to send him

down headlong along the inclined plane of extinction. Thus they were dreaming of absorbing the whole of Hindu India into themselves so that the whole of Hindusthan may ultimately belong to them and be changed into Muslimsthan as the whole of Afghanisthan now belongs to the Moslems.

"Now let us further analyse the Hindu mentality. It is hopelessly perlexing. The Hindu seems to be obsessed with the desire for Swaraj. It is a very noble and manly ambition, but has he ever indulged in a little introspection and examined his own inner self with a view to satisfy himself if he is really fit for Swaraj? In the quite lonliness of his room, when he is all to himself alone, if he were to ask himself a question "if I cannot guarantee safety and immunity from molestation to my women folk and temples from those of my Moslem brethren who are only armed with Lathies, how can I aspire to wrest Swaraj from and maintain it against the cupidity of those armed with machine guns," what answer can he give? While trying to invent or discover an answer let him picture to himself in the loneliness of his room the daily occurrences of Hindoo's running away for life when attacked by Moslem ruffians, leaving behind their women-folk to be dealt with by them as they may please.

"Every Moslem, man or woman is, as I have said above, a proselytising agent of his religion and considers

it one of the sacred duties of his life as a Muslim to decay in his or her life time a few Hindus, men or women, boys or girls, preferably the latter, and bring them into the Islamic fold. To the Muslim the whole world is his home and its things are meant to minister to his health and strength. Whatever he touches he purifies. The Hindu on the other hand is ever haunted with the fear of being polluted at every step. Here it may be the touch of one whom he is pleased to dub as untouchable: there perhaps the shadow of an outsider has fallen on his dishes; perhaps the water that he is drinking or the food he is eating has had a touch of a Shudra. He must take a Prayaschitta, that is, undergo purification.

"Communalism though inherently present more or less in any Credal Religion, has in the case of Islam in India been unfortunately fed and aggravated by the impolitic and unstatesmanlike utterances of many of the Hindu Leaders of the Congress.

"The Moslems fully utilized the Khilafat movement for internal organisation of socio-religious character and the whole Moslem community of India was taught to look beyond the frontiers of India for inspiration in Moslem Nationalism and for objects commanding their transcendantal Love and sacrifice. This led to the revival of a surging wave of Pan-Islamism involving in its vortex each and every

Moslem from the highest to the lowest rank of the society and conjuring up before them a vista of common brotherhood of Islamic nations from Turkey in the West to East Bengal in the East, including in it the Moslemised portions of India on its North Western Frontier such as Sind, Baluchistan, N. W. Frontier Province and the Punjab, under the hegemony of any one of the independent Islamic Nations developing the modern system of warfare of the West.

"Unity based on the principle of bargaining can never be stable, particularly when it has to be purchased by making concessions.........The moment they say that Swaraj cannot be attained without Hindu-Moslem Unity, that unity becomes a marketable article and all the laws of economics concerning Demand and Supply immediately come into operation on it.

"I have no value, not the least, for that Swaraj where the Hindoo declines daily both in numbers and in influence. I can only imagine that Swaraj where the Hindu in his forefathers' land of Hindusthan shall be prospering and supreme, capable of radiating peace and love and brotherhood all round. How can he attain it, living as he does at the present moment, under the dual domination of the British Machine-gun and the Moslem Lathi? Shuddhi and Sangathan are the means prescribed by the Hindu Sabha Movement and both reason and commonsense dictate that success

in this enterprise shall be the harbinger of stable and permanent Hindu-Moslem Unity and the Swaraj that shall be covetable.

"I feel that I should repeat my conviction that if the Hindus leave the Moslems severely alone for some time to come to do as they please even in association with the Government and cease talking any further of the Hindu Moslem Unity, the Moslems themselves will see the folly of their own insistence on separatist communalism and may eventually come to feel that it shall be to their real interest as also to that of India as a whole if they veer round and merge themselvess in the Indian Nationalism for the common good of India which commotes their Communal prosperity also."

SHRIYUT N. C. KELKAR, POONA.

JUBBULPORE, APRIL 1928.

"They, the Hindus, have a stake in the country, greater than any other community in India. In the recent troubles the Indian Mohammedans could at least think of such a thing as Hijrat, though of course, they could not practise it successfully. But where in the whole wide world is there an inch of space which the poor, unbefriended and threatened Hindu can call his own, outside Hindusthan? Other communities have their whole bases of operations and world-wide lines of commnication, and flotillas of boats and transports which can replenish them in India at need. The Hindu Society, on the other hand, has long ago burnt its boats, cut off every possible line of communication with the world with its own hands, and has cooped itself up unwisely with a ditch around itself and a foolish contrivance in which the valve shuts against itself but opens out for any hostile soldier, adventurer or camp-follower to safely come across and give the best account of the slightest capacity of mischief or harm which he may possess. The only hope, therefore,

of this beleaguered community now lies in strongly fortifying itself at all points of attack, making friends with all amongst itself, taking good care of the blind, the lame and the diseased, and in enthusing the whole garrison with the hope that it can save itself even now, if it makes up its mind, the hope being reinforced by the warning that it is doomed to destruction if it faints or falters for a moment. Hindus not only wish to attain political Swaraj in India, but they also wish to have their proper share of it, remaining Hindus. Swaraj will not be worth having if we cannot purchase it with any price less than the loss of Hinduism itself.

"The removal of conflict between the different members and organs of the Hindu Society and the establishment of good understanding between them is only a foundation upon which the real structural work of strengthening and organizing the Hindu society is to be done.

"Conferences are being held for the last three years to settle the points of differences between the Hindus and Mohammedans, in matters religious as well as political. But things went from bad to worse even after that. The attempt at the settlement of political differences has shared the same fate. The question therefore arises, what next? My reply to that is 'wait and see'. But I do not give that reply in any

cynical spirit. For I really think that the compromise proposals perhaps require some rest. It is now better to see the tree of communal good-will grow from a distance than pull it up frequently by its roots, as it were, to see how it is growing. The discussions and deliberations held during the last three or four years cannot all go for nothing. The discovery of the fundamental positions where both Hindus and Mahomedans stand is in itself a great gain. Digging up of foundations is a necessary operation for undertaking a structure,

"The Hindus should, in my view, spend greater attention and energy on the consideration of the question as to how they will, so far as they can, give the best account of themselves, in the work of achieving political Swarajya.

"I can challenge any one to cite any well-known or proved instances of reconversions to Hinduism which were obtained by fraud or force, ever since the Shuddhi and Sanghathan movements were set on foot. That being so, are Hindus to be branded as communal anti-national? Is it a sin for them to wish to remain Hindus and participate in the future Swaraj as Hindus? It is well if the other communities cooperate with the Hindus in a fair spirit in the work of achieving Swarajya, But if they do not, that is well also, if not so well. The Hindu pilgrim's never

failing experience is that if he starts on the journey with a determination to complete his pilgrimage though all alone, he soon begins to get fellow pilgrims on the way as he proceeds. Companionship is indeed good, but self-reliance is always better."

SHRIYUT RAMANANDA CHATTERJI, CALCUTTA.

SURAT, APRIL 1929.

In his presidential speech the learned Editor of the "Modern Review" at the very outset refutes the charge of being communalists generally brought against the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha. He says, "Even the greatest of statesmen in those countries (of Europe) may belong to smaller groups and many have actually so belonged. No charge of communalism in a bad sense is brought against them. Similarly in Hindusthan, the charge of communalism cannot justly be brought against B. Anand Mohan Bose, President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and also of the Indian National Congress, against Lala Lajpat Rai, President of the Hindu Mahasabha and also of the Indian National Congress or against Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, President of the Indian National Congress and also of the Hindu Mahasabha." As for the Hindus of Hindusthan he clearly explains their goal of life. "What I mean," says he, "is that it is peculiarly our duty and our right to keep whatever of permanent value has come down from our past and to extend the bounds of

Indian thought and culture. For whatever friend or foe may say we are not a decadent people. We mean to live, we will live, we can live, and we will yet give to the world what God intended that we should." In the course of his speech he very lucidly sets forth the aims and objects of Hindu Mahasabha and brings home to his audience the truth that Hindu Mahasabha stands for pure and untarnished nationalism. His words are worth quoting. "The Hindu Mahasabha does not seek to have for Hindus any political, economic or civic rights or privileges to which they are not entitled by their numbers, educational and other qualifications, character, ability, public spirit and tax-paying capacity and, in particular the Hindu Mahasabha does not want for Hindus any fixed share for anything which may indirectly leave an unequitable portion for others. It stands for open and fair competition, for an open door, for talent irrespective of considerations of race, creed or complexion. It is one of its objects to 'promote good feelings between the Hindus and other communities in Hindusthan and to act in a friendly way with them with a view to evolve a united and self-governing Indian nation."

"Perhaps what has more than anything else made the Hindu Mahasabha unpopular with the bulk of Indian Musalmans is its effort 'to preserve and increase the numerical strength of the Hindus'—which is one

of its declared objects. Non-Hindu communities in Hindusthan, like the Muslims and the Christians, particularly the former, have increased vasty at the expense of the Hindus and the aborigines of Hindusthan. Therefore. anything done to arrest this process cannot be looked upon with favour by the followers of those non-Indian faiths. Still more unpleasant must the reversal of the process be to them. But I donot see how one can logically and justly object to the Hindus' doing what the others have been doing for centuries—particularly as the Hindus have not gone in for the accession to the ranks of "rice" Hindus, of non-Hindu women abducted or confiscated and obliged to be converted, of men tempted to come over by the prospect of marriage, of persons induced to be converted by the prospect of economic advantage, and of persons forced to be converted by terrorism of any kind. The Hindu Mahasabha and Hindu missions connected with it, formally or informally want reconversion and conversion only by fair, open and legitimate means."

"Like the work of conversion and re-conversion, there are some other items in the programme of Hindu Sabha and missions which have brought upon them the charge of communalism and made them unpopular with Christians and Muslim propagandists. One such item is the amelioration and improvement of the condition of the so-called low castes of the Hindu

community and of the aborigines of Hindusthan. Incredible as it may seem, even the efforts made by Hindus to get their widows married are, for obvious reasons, disliked and opposed by some Musalmans. Similarly, and also for obvious reasons, the efforts to get abductors punished and abducted Hindu women rescued and given a respectable position in Society are resented and misrepresented in some Mohamedan organs in Bengal." He very strongly pleads the cause of the so-called 'achhuts' and asks Hindu Mahasabha to take some action in the direction of providing educational facilities both general and vocational for them to an adquate extent. On one occasion he vehementally says that "the sooner the expression 'Depressed Classes' falls into disuse, the better." Another thing which he points out to be guarded against is the exaggeration of their number. "It is generally thought and said by our critics that these people number six or more than six crores. But it has been recently admitted officially that the number is somewhere near three crores. Possibly it is still less. I long for the day when we shall all be known only as Hindus, all in the enjoyment of equal social dignity." Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee very painfully feels for the daily decrease in number of Hindus in every province. This leads him to discuss briefly the causes of the decay of nations and peoples. According to him this

decrease is due to their losing hope and joy and rest in life on account of new conditions imposed on them from outside. He rightly points out that, "If any Hindu caste or Hindus in any area are decreasing, it should be investigated whether owing to any cause their play instinct has been suppressed, collective enjoyment of life diminished and hope decreased." In the end the learned President explains the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as regard its relation with other sister communities. "I shall say only this in brief that, as in the past, so at present and also in the future the Hindus will not shrink from facing all dangers and making all the sacrifices necessary for winning freedom for all communities."

SHRIYUT C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR, MADRAS.

AKOLA, AUGUST 1931.

Passing very briefly over the origin and progress of the Sabha he discusses the Indian Problem chiefly with reference to the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity. "The problem of minorities," he says, "has assumed unique dominance in Indian politics. It is a remarkable fact that the Minority which is most numerous and which by wealth, education and above all organisation is most powerful is also the most insistent for numerous special safe-guards for the protection of its rights. It needs no great research for discovering the factors (other than those which throughout the rest of the world constitute the pure Minority problem) which influence our Muslim fellow countrymen to conceive and formulate, as they have done, their special rights, real and subjective. I may be pardoned here for stating at once that our difficulty in solving this problem is due almost entirely to certain foreign and irrelevant elements that subjectively constitute this problem. The policy of conciliating the Muslims

by special patronage and concessions began in this country between the seventies and eighties of the last century, almost simultaneously with the starting of Pan-Islamism by Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey. And this problem has been ever since growing in volume and intensity, with the active encouragement of the Bureaucracy more than under the auspices of the Government. The result is, it has become so complex, that it is impossible now for Muhammadans themselves to arrive at a reasoned and unanimous solution. Neither the Government nor non-Muslims are able to arrive at a settlement with them. Prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, are clearly of opinion that no satisfactory solution would be reached in the near future. Therefore the one important question before us is, what is the remedy? Are we to postpone the constitutional reforms and the political salvation of the country until we reach a solution of this problem so as to give satisfaction to everybody in the country? It would be disastrous to adopt such an unreasonable attitude, look at it how you may. Rather the effort must be to analyse and separate the purely local question of the adjustment of claims and interests from the national one of seeuring power into Indian hand. To my mind a solution of the minority problem is near at hand, the only solution we can think of. And that is to invoke the assistance

of the great International Institution, the League of Nations."

He answers the objections and allays the fear of those who think that the solution of the problem of minority is purely a domestic matter and that therefore the League of Nations could not interfere. "This is a mistake." He says, "No doubt it is true that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims, nor both of them together, can submit this question for arbitration to the League of Nations. But the Government of British India, or better the Government of the coming Dominions, of its own motion can and ought to do so to save the situation."

Moreover, he believes that "when the new Government of British India is thus started on its legs, the Minority problem, or the Muslim problem to put it more accurately will cease to be a problem of domestic politics. We may be sure that there will be no grievance. History shows that ancient Hindusthan was the safest place in the world to live in. The freedom and security enjoyed through the ages by the Jews of Cochin, the Syrian Christians of Malabar and the Parsees of Gujrat and Bombay illustrate this fact. Nothing would prevail upon these communities to return to Palestine or Persia. So there is absolutely no need for our Muslim brethren and sisters to fear that their special rights would not be safe in our

country itself. However, if they have a grievance, there is the League of Nations ready to enquire and settle it impartially."

The learned President passed on to a consideration of the Constitutional question. He is definitely against Federalism. According to him "the sort of political mechanism invented at the Round Table Conference is Federalism only in name. Fantastic in structure and novel and startling in function, if at all it can be established, it would be dangerous for British India and ruinous for the Indian States."

He discusses the subject at length and in all important aspects of it. He is of the opinion that "the Constitution should be unitary and parliamentary and not by any means Federal in the sense proposed at the Round Table Conference. Not only it is a physical and meta-physical impossibility, in the oft-quoted words of Carlyle, but it is in the highest degree dangerous to the people of both the Indias. I might here sound a note of warning to our rulers. The well accepted international doctrine that a change in the form of Constitutional Government of a country cannot absolve that country from all the legal obligations contracted by its unreformed ancestor, cannot in my humble view apply to a State constructed out of the political debris of British India on the one hand, and metamorphosed

Indian States on the other. There should be no Reservations and Crown subjects beyond the full reach of the new Government as regards Defence, Foreign Relations and Finance except in so far as the declarations of wars are concerned, and to which we should have the same right of voice as the Dominions. Compromises may be made by treaties between the reformed Government of British India, and Britishers and Irishmen, residents in India whether as officials or non-officials, but who are not national, provided that the terms of such compromises do not constitute them a privileged class."

SHRIYUT N. C. KELKAR, POONA.

DELHI, SEPTEMBER 1932.

Shri N. C. Kelkar discussed and dealt with the Communal Award of 17th August and observed, "My very first word of comment upon the Award would be that it is not the Award of an arbitrator, but simply a decision by the British Government arrived at on its own responsibility like any other administrative decision. Individual members of the Round Table Conference or its Consultative Committee, who were weak or incautious enough to accept Government, even in the last resort, as chosen judges or arbitrators, may naturally feel estopped from contesting the Award. But the Hindu Mahasabha as an association was not called upon to send any chosen delegates to the Round Table Conference. And the Sabha may legitimately feel itself not bound or estopped by the Cabinet decree of 17th August. No doubt the Round Table Conference gave the appearance of certain representatives of the Indian people being consulted, and allowed to suggest to Government decisions, which would be binding if they embodied a common

agreement among the leaders of different communities. But Government knew in their heart of hearts that no such agreement would be arrived at, and they also took pretty good care from time to time that such agreement would be made almost impossible. Openly as well as secretly they showed partiality to minorities, especially Muslims among them, and the minorities were consequently inspired or encouraged to set up a higher key to the tune of their communal demand. Government knew full well that they could make great capital out of the communal disagreement in Hindusthan, as communal leaders chosen for the purpose were bound to disagree, though invited to a R. T. Conference."

"If the Government of India," he goes on, "honestly wanted to set up an Indian Nation on its feet in this country, they might have followed the example of League of Nations. But far from doing this, they have decided the matter in such a way that communal confusion in Hindusthan would be worse confounded, owing to communal distinctions being recognised in public and political affairs as much as in private life." "The so-called Award can be impeached," according to him, "on many grounds. The provisions in it have conceded special electorates not only to Mahomedans, who demanded them, but also to Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and even Indian

women who never asked for them. They went beyond even the Simon Commission which did not recommend an assured majority in the legislatures for the majority communities in the provinces, nor special electorates for Depressed Classes or Indian Christians. They have also exceeded the demands put forward even by the official Government of the Punjab in the interest of the Muslims. For whereas an excess of two seats was suggested by them for Muslims over Hindus, a majority of nearly 10 has been conceded by the Award. If Government thought that minorities really should be given representation according to population basis, they should have done for the Hindu minorities in different provinces what they have done for Muslim minorities. But they have perpetrated injustice to the Hindu minorities alone both in Bengal and the Punjab. The Award thus cannot be justified on any common principle. But it is obviously the result of secret partiality to certain minority communities, and the desire also to cripple as far as possible the Hindu community which, in the opinion of Government, has been evincing perhaps an unpleasant or excessive political activity and national consciousness in this country. Broadly, the object of Government seems to be to make it impossible for the legislature in any province to effectively control the Executive Administration. Group

would be set up against group. Patronage would do its destructive work. And the foreigner would be able to manipulate the sea-saw of political power; so that the resulting profit of the position would always fall in his own lap."

He further tries to show very clearly how injustice has been done to the Hindus in each province, either by the grant of separate electorates or excessive weightage. He, then, refers to the vow which Mahatma Gandhi took to enter up on a fast unto death as a protest against separate electorates being given to the depressed classes. He very curtly reveals that "Truth in my humble opinion is that this method of self-immolation is not valid. It is grand but not politics." As for the consequences which such a fast and its result are to bring about, he says, "For the Hindu Community generally it would be a painful humiliation. The Depressed class representatives, though they may for the moment yield to Gandhi will perpetually nurse that concession as a great grievance."

Relating to the History of negotiations, Mr. Kelkar observed that "it should be admitted that Mahomedans have won the game at every point; and also that the game would not be so won by them if the dice in the game were not loaded by Government favour and partiality. The whole history of negotiations in the All-Parties Conferences at Delhi and Simla, and also at

the Round Table Conference in London, is very instructive from this point of view."

Mr. Kelkar grows eloquent when, at the very face of communal selfishness on the part of Muslims, he finds certain Hindu leaders' futile optimism in the Hindu-Muslim Unity. His words are true even to-day. We cannot withhold the temptation of quoting him in full:—"But assuming that the Award remains unamended in material particulars, what shall we do with it? A great Hindu leader actually suggested that we might again sit down, Hindus and Mahomedans together, to negotiate a new settlement. I confess I never saw a more monumental example of futile optimism than is contained in this suggestion. Have we not been engaged in these negotiations 'ad nauseum' for years past? And have we not realised to our cost that the Hindus have had to retire from every stage set up for a compromise, with the loss to them of one more point and the gain of one more point by the other party to the negotiations? Not that the Hindu leaders lack the skill required for negotiation. But the other party regards every gestures for further negotiation as sure evidence of the weakness of the Hindu community, and at once pitches its demands to a higher key. This apparent weakness of the Hindus proceeds from no other real cause, however, than their inner urge to secure or wrest power from Government.

And in Hindu-Muslim co-operation, they fancy, they will get an unfailing weapon to wage the war with the Government to success. To a certain extent, this view is valid. But it can be easily pushed beyond reasonable limits. And this, in my opinion, is being actually done for some time past. The Indian National Congress has now found to its cost that the Hindus have been exclusively shouldering the burden of political agitation to such an extent that the Congress is being dubbed by its opponents as 'Hindu' Congress. And into the bargain, the Congress has lost the co-operation of certain prominent Muslim leaders, which was an appreciable feature in the Congress-cum-Khilafat Movement of ten years ago. What a heart-rending tragedy must it have been for the Cangress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and the late Pandit Motilal Nehru to find themselves denounced as enemies of Muslim aspirations, when their whole being was practically devoted to securing justice to them?"

SHRIYUT BHAI PARMANANDA, LAHORE.

AJMER, OCTOBER 1933.

Bhai Parmananda traces, at the very outset, the history of the origin of the Indian National Congress and speaks of the Government's policy of non-interference till 1905 when the partition of Bengal and the Russo-Japanese War gave rise to a new wave of patriotism. "In 1906," he says, "two important events took place which indicate a change in the policy of the Government. One was the foundation of the Moslem League in Dacca with the object of counter-balancing the influnce of the Indian National Congress, and the other the waiting of a Muslem deputation, headed by H. H. the Agha Khan, on the Viceroy to put forth the claim of separate representation in the Imperial Council for the Moslem community. The latter event is generally described as a 'Command performance.' The policy of the Government henceforth began to be marked by the grant of special favours to the Moslem community in all departments and this change led to the theory of 'a favourite wife.' It is to the credit of the Punjab Hindus that they not only saw through this game but

tried to find out some way to meet it. In 1908 for the first time the Hindu Sabha Movement was started in the Punjab, and it is a noteworthy fact that all the leading Hindus, in spite of their different ways of thinking, joined this Movement."

The Hindu Sabha Movement, however, received a check by the repressive policy of the Punjab Government and finally it received a death blow by the Congresss-League Pact of Lucknow in 1916. In 1920, the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat movement held the field. The Mohamedan community thought that destruction of the Caliphate meant the destruction of Islam and that for this the British Govt. were responsible. Muslims made a common cause with the Congress. "But this period, however, was followed by a sudden outbreak of Hindu-Moslem riots throughout the country. The Mohammedan Press and the Mullahs raised the old cry of 'Islam in danger!' and proclaimed that the playing of music before the mosques by the Hindus in their religious processions was destructive of Islam and that the Mohammedans should resist it at any cost. This sudden aggressiveness on the part of the Muslims attended by occasional murders of Hindu leaders again awakened in the Hindus a spontaneous feeling of the great need of self-defence and self-preservation. The growth of this feeling once more turned the Hindu mind away

from the Congress and gave rise to the Hindu Sangathan Movement. I believe most firmly that if the Hindu leaders had gone on with this new Movemont, they would certainly have saved the nation from many a pitfall and danger, and that if the Hindu Sabha met with another failure, it was undoubtedly due to the desertion of its own leaders."

Bhaiji deals with the appointment of the Simon Commission, how it was opposed by the Hindu leaders along with those of the Congress and how Lord Birkenhead suggested, in the form of a challenge, that the Indians could not produce a unanimous constitution for the country. The Nehru Report was the result of it and it offered an outline for a constitution which was signed by the Muslim members as well who, however, soon withdrew their signatures and the much desired unity never materialized. "In the course of first Round Table Conference the communal problem was once more presented in its most acute form as a bar to further constitutional progress. This was again another trap. The Simon Commission had described the communal problem as the most important and highly controversial one. At the same time supposing it to be incapable af solution by mutual agreement of the two communities they had laid down their solution for it. I think, in such a case, the question should not have been raised at all, at the Round Table Conference and even when it was

raised and no agreement was reached, the Commission's unanimous recommendation on that point was already there which, considering the statutory position and the importance of the investigation of the Commission should have been the last thing to be ignored. Again, when after the so-called truce between the Government and Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi went to London and instead of negotiating with the British Government, he began to follow the will-o'-the wisp theory of Hindu-Moslem unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a fore-gone conclusion the new Conservative Government of England settled with the Moslem leaders and a friendly alliance was established between them. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's wrong attitude and handling. As a result of this the Premier took it upon himself to find out a fresh solution of the communal problem and impose it upon India. This solution was announced on August 17, 1932, under the name of the Communal Award."

Bhaiji discusses the Communal Award in every respect and in very strong terms condemns it. According to him, "There is an open alliance between the British Govt. and Moslems." Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible at present as he observes, "In my view we have reached a stage where the Congress with its theory of Swaraj through Hindu

Moslem unity and Civil disobedience goes entirely out of the field." As to what should be the future line of action for the Hindus, he says, "Looking at the condition of the Hindus in the various provinces, each having its eyes turned in a different direction I cannot but add that the future is very gloomy and dark for the Hindus. I do not use these words by way of any discouragement but with the clear object of pointing out that if the Hindus have a will to live in this country as a living race they shall have to make gigantic efforts, much more gigantic than they have hitherto made.........If a few denationalised Hindu politicians have quietly acquiesced in the Communal Award for the sake of temporary peace or concord, they do not represent the feelings, thoughts and aspirations of the millions of unsophisticated Hindus who cherish in their minds the glorious traditions of their ancient culture and history. I feel an impulse in me that the Hindus would willingly co-operate with Great Britain if their status and responsible position as the premier community in India is recognized in the political institutions of new India. But they would never consent to play second fiddle to the Moslems under the British flag in Provincial and Central Legislatures. I utter this note of warning here and now that if the Hindus are exposed to dishonour, humiliation and injustice under the British rule, it would be no use blaming them if

in despair they return to such wild agitation as might even aim at the disruption of the Empire.

"This constitution is going to create a state within a state where the outer state would remain permanently in a weak condition, while the inner state, being more solid and united on the basis of religious bond, would tend to grow stronger and stronger every day. The strangest thing of all. however, with us is that the Congress, supposed to be the most important political organisation in the country has been committed to a policy that makes it altogether unfit to oppose the proposed constitution on communal grounds. The Congress leaders having proclaimed themselves non-communal do feel shy of opposing this constitution for fear of being censured as communalists by their Moslem friends. The most important political organisation in the country is thus quite helpless to oppose this constitution although it is no less certain that it involves a question of life and death for the Hindus in India."

"The communal constitution," he remarks, "has made such a change in our politics that for the Hindus no alternative course is left but to seek the shelter of the Hindu Mahasabha and work out their salvation through Hindu Sangathan. I confess the Hindu Mahasabha is not yet a fully developed organisation but the fault does not lie in the nature of the

organisation. The Mahasabha is so because the Hindus as a community lack that national consciousness which must be there to make it a living and strong organisation. Our first task, therefore, is to create that consciousness and, more particularly, to direct our energy to the task of creating that consciousness in provinces where it is wholly lacking. I think the most important weapon which could be of service to us in this work is the capturing of the Legislative Assembly and Councils. The Hindu Sabhas at various headquarters in provinces should see that only those candidates are returned to represent the Hindus who are pledged to fight the communal constitution. This ought to be the first item of our programme and it should receive our immediate attention.

"When a nation, in the process of natural decay, loses its vitality, it becomes the duty of those who have some life left in them to give it for the good of the nation and infuse a new life into it. This is the only efficacious treatment for old and decaying races. Love of life and comfort which is a significant symptom of the decay of a race, produces cowardice and cowardice is death. It is sacrifice of life and devotion to the cause of a nation which produces courage and courage is new life. In our traditions we read that when the country was being over-run by barbarians, a great 'yajna' was performed on the top of

Mount Abu. Out of that 'yajna' were created the Agnikula Rajputs who pledged to give their lives for defence of 'Dharma.' We have similar and important incidents in the history of Sikh Gurus in the Punjab. When the Brahmins from Kashmir, on being persecuted and tortured by their foreign rulers, came to Amritsar and in an open 'durbar' of Guru Teg Bahadur prayed that they be saved from their oppressors, the Guru told them in reply that there was only one way to save them : a man of great piety should lay down his life in the name of 'Dharma'. Guru Teg Bahadur kept his word. His head was taken off by orders of the Moghul King in the Chandni Chowk of Delhi. Out of this martyrdom was kindled a fire that infused a new life into the Hindus of the Punjab. For seven hundred years a great river of invasions had been flowing from the North-West of India. The Hindus had lost all power of resistance and the flow of invasions went on. But all of a sudden, not only the flow of that river was stopped but its direction was turned the other way. This was the great and unequalled miracle in the history of India. The very people who had been victims of invasions for seven centuries became invaders and the old invaders had now to defend their hearths and homes from invasions. How was this miracle brought about ? This miracle was the direct outcome of the principle of martyrdom

preached by Guru Gobind Singh. The remedy is there. It is for the Hindu youths to come in the field and practise it for themselves. Those who cannot afford to give their lives for the noblest cause of preserving their great and ancient race have got other modes to take part in that great 'yajna'. The rich can give their riches, the learned their knowledge and the strong their strength. I have a plan in my mind to establish at Delhi a home for such workers who would devote their lives to this noble cause. It is yet a plan. It can materialise by offerings of life and wealth from some of the people who have got a feeling heart."

SHRIYUT BHIKSHU UTTAMA, BURMA.

CAWNPORE, APRIL 1935.

The President was highly pleased and expressed his thankfulness to the Hindus for appreciating his services rendered for the uplift of Burmese and propagation of Boddha Dharma in Burma. He said, "I have not done any remarkable service to Hindu Mahasabha and yet you have given me such a high honour. All this indicate that you all consider one crore Boddha Burmese as your brethren, you love them and take them as part and parcel of the great Hindu Society and whatever service I have done to them, you all highly appreciate and hold me in great estimation." He further in his speech elucidated the fact that after a careful study of the Boddha and Hindu religions he was emphatically of opinion that "Bhagwan Buddha was one of the staunch Hindus that ever lived. Buddha never gave up the Hindu Dharma; on the contrary he gave to it a new colour and new life and extended it beyond the bounds of Hindusthan." The great Bhikshu in his resentment at the policy of British Govt. to separate Burma from the rest of

Hindusthan says, "I consider it (the separation of Burma from Hindusthan) sacriligious and take it no less than cutting the Aryan culture and Aryan race to pieces." He thanked the Hindu Mahasabha for its taking the wise step in sending their representatives to Japan to attend the 25th Centenary of Lord Buddha to pay homage to His Blessed memory on behalf of the Hindus of Hindusthan. He criticised the policy of the Indian National Congress in as much as the latter is vociferous in calling Hindu Mahasabha as a Communal body. In the end he exhorted the Hindus to be more kind and considerate towards their brethren of depressed classes, to ameliorate their condition, to make changes in their social and religious practices and thus to consolidate their own ground internally.

He at great length deplored the pro-Muslim and anti-national policy of the Indian National Congress and refuted all allegations that Hindu Mahasabha is a communal organization.

SHRIYUT PT. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, BENARAS.

POONA, DECEMBER 1935.

Tracing his connection with the Hindu Mahasabha since its very inception in 1916, Panditji eulogised the services of Dr. Moonje, Bhai Parmananda and Lala Lajpat Rai. He then briefly described the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha in general and those of Hindu leaders in particular for obtaining Swarajya. "But," he deplored, "instead of Swarajya an 'Anti-Indian' Constitution (Communal Award) was thrust upon the people of Hindusthan." He says further, "This is the state of things after 50 years' struggle, efforts and sacrifices; our future seems to be dark; all cry for Swarajya but an 'Award' is given which is anti-Hindu. What is this Communal Award ? This is nothing but the reducing of Hindus who make 75% of the population to a position of non-entity and insignificance. I do not have any grudge for Muslims but what has been awarded is unbearable for me." Panditji condemned separate electorates, and communal riots and exhorted Hindus and Muslims to be considerate and thoughtful. He asked the Hindus to give up

pessimism and hopelessness and believe in the well-known words of Tilak : 'Swaraj is our birth-right and I shall have it.' He then appreciated the activities and work done by Dr. Moonje in founding a military college which in Panditji's opinion was a dire necessity for the Hindus. Panditji in the end dealt with the problems of cow-protection, commercial and industrial enterprises and gave many practical suggestions to carry out the schemes for them to a success. He alluded to the question of the uplift of the depressed classes and asked the Hindus to be more careful in this respect, to ameliorate their condition and never to look them down as our Shastras enjoin us to do.

In the end Panditji announced that within 12 months he would collect a sum of Rs. One Crore for the Hindu Mahasabha to carry on the work according to its own programme which he clearly and at great length explained to the huge audience.

HIS HOLINESS SHRI SHANKARACHARYA,

(DR. KURTKOTI), NASIK.

LAHORE, OCTOBER 1936.

"And freedom is only possible if the alien Faiths that have separate independent nations and spheres of activity of their own for the development of their own cultures are made to live here peacefully and on friendly terms with the Hindus. They must be made to understand that Hindusthan is primarily for the Hindus and that the Hindus live for the preservation and development of the Aryan culture and the Hindu Dharma which are bound to prove beneficial to all humanity.

"I affirm that in Hindusthan the national race, religion and language ought to be that of the Hindus. With this as the basic principle of our national constitution joint electorates without any reservation of seats for particular groups or communities offer the right solution of the problem of minority representation. It will be in conformity with the highest ideals of democracy and also in keeping with the principles of equality and other tenets for which Hinduism stands.

But if any guarantee or safeguard for the protection of any minorities is needed, the Minority Guarantee Treaties of the League of Nations provide it most effectively.

"For while the Communal Decision delivers an attack from the outside, there are many fissiparous and cantankerous agencies within the structure of the Hindu society itself which gnaw at its vitals from within. There are many evil practices and institutions among the Hindus that have crept in now and then since the Hindus forgot the progressive principles of their ancestors, which all conspire to make the Hindus a weak and disjointed community. More than the Communal Decision it is these that menace Hinduism and the Hindus. That menace must be combatted. It is only when these evil agencies are buried low down never to rise again that the Hindus shall emerge into a strong, united and militant race and then alone will the Hindus be the worthy bearers of the torch of Hindu culture and Hindu Dharma.

"The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only premier representative institution of the Hindus ought to organize itself in such a manner as to be able to achieve all these objectives. There should be a strong elected representative executive at the centre of this body which can sketch the plan of action and work it out. Fresh blood should be infused in it by changing some

members of that executive body by rotation but consistency of policy should be maintained by retaining a few members in office for some more years.

"The culture of a nation is vitally connected with its language. The stamp of a foreign culture on a nation can be detected from the impress of a foreign language on the mother-tongue. Every independent nation guards and preserves its national language for this reason. Hindusthan, therefore, should insist on making Hindi the lingua-indica of the country. We should realise the fact that every foreign word admitted into our language spells the death of the original Hindi synonym of it. Such indiscreet incorporation does not enrich the language but on the contrary it weakens it. We should emphasise the purity of the Hindi language just as we insist on the purity of the Hindu culture.

"Under the circumstances the Hindu Mahasabha ought to have its own representatives in the legislatures to guard the interests and promote the rights of the Hindus. The Mahasabha, therefore, should fight the elections on its own ticket but that fight should be on the clear issue of the protection of Hindu interests.

"Hinduism has kept alive the torch of the ancient Aryan culture and civilization. To preserve that culture, it is our duty to preserve Hinduism itself, not as a mummified specimen in a museum of antiquities, but as a living growth that has come down to us from

the ages, most vital and tenacious and most deserving of fostering care and protection among all the religions of the world, as it is also the most ancient among the living religions of the world. I would have our critics remember that after all Hindusthan is the land of the Hindus and the Hindus have no other habitat elsewhere. In consequence, whatever the faults and the extravagence, of us Hindus in the land of Hindusthan may be, they have a certain right to expect indulgence in their own land from fellow-citizens who or whose ancestors have within historical memory ceased to be Hindus.

"The Hindu Mahasabha should be considered as the representative body not only of the Hindus by birth or the Hindus in Hindusthan, but also as representative of the Hindus abroad and particularly of those who by voluntary choice have enlisted themselves as Hindus and whom we should consider as Hindus by adoption. Were we to act otherwise, we should be casting a slur upon the labours of men like Swami Vivekananda and others who have carried the torch of Hindu religion and philosophy in Europe and America. This will involve a revision of the constitution of the Mahasabha wide enough to give representation to all Hindus from the far-flung corners of the world and strong enough to carry on the day-to-day programme of work without any hitch or interruption."

SYT. VEER V. D. SAVARKAR, BOMBAY.

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 1937.

"As the whole superstructure of the mission and the function of the Hindu Mahasabha rest on the correct definition of the word 'Hindu', we must first of all make it clear what 'Hindutva' really means.

॥ आसिंधुसिंधुपर्यन्ता यस्य भारतभूमिका ॥
॥ पितृभूः पुण्यभूश्चैव स वै हिंदुरितिस्मृतः ॥ १ ॥

" 'Every one who regards and claims this Bharatbhoomi from the Indus to the Seas as his Fatherland and Holyland is a Hindu.' Here I must point out that it is rather loose to say that any person professing any religion of Indian origin is a Hindu. Because that is only one aspect of Hindutva. The second and equally essential constituent of the concept of Hindutva cannot be ignored if we want to save the definition from getting overlapping and unreal. It is not enough that a person should profess any religion of Indian origin, i. e. recognise Hindusthan as पुण्यभू, his Holyland, but must also recognise it as his पितृभू too, his Father-land as well.........Hindudom is bound

and marked out as a people and a nation by themselves not by only the tie of a common holyland in which their religion took birth but by the ties of a common culture, a common language, a common history and essentially of a common fatherland as well. It is these two constituents taken together that constitute our Hindutva and distinguish us from any other people in the World.

"The word 'Hindu' is not a denomination which the foreigners applied to us in contempt or otherwise but is derived from our Vaidic appellation of सप्तसिंधु (Saptasindhu) and is borne out by the name of one of our provinces and peoples bordering on the Indus who are being called down to this day as सिंध and सिंधी.

"The Mahasabha is not in the main a Hindu-Dharma Sabha but it is pre-eminently a Hindu-Rashtra-Sabha and is a Pan-Hindu organization shaping the destiny of the Hindu Nation in all its social, political and cultural aspects.

"A people is marked out as a nation by themselves not so much by the absence of any heterogeneous differences amongst themselves as by the fact of their differing from other peoples more markedly than they differ amongst themselves. Even those who deny the fact that the Hindus could be called a nation by themselves, do recognise Great Britain, the United States, Russia, Germany and other peoples as nations.

"The (Hindus) possess a common Holyland. The Vedic Rishis are their common pride, their Grammarians Painini and Patanjali, their poets Bhavabhooti and Kalidas, their heroes Shree Rama and Shree Krishna—Shivaji and Pratap—Guru Govind and Banda are a source of common inspiration. Their Prophets Buddha and Mahaveer, Kanad and Shankar, are held in common esteem. Like their ancient and sacred language, the Sanskrit, their scripts also are fashioned on the same basis and the Nagari script has been the common vehicle of their sacred writings since centuries in the past. Their ancient and modern History is common. They have friends and enemies in common. They have faced common dangers and won victories in common. One in national glory and one in national disasters, one in national despairs and one in national hope the Hindus are welded together during aeons of a common life and a common habitat. Above all the Hindus are bound together by the dearest, most sacred and most enduring bounds of a common Fatherland and a common Holyland, and these two being identified with one and the same country, our Bharat-bhumi—our India, the National Oneness and homogenity of the Hindus have been doubly sure. If the United States with the warring crowds of Negroes, Germans and Anglo Saxons, with a commom past not exceeding four or five centuries put together, can be called a

nation—then the Hindus must be entitled to be recognized as a nation par excellence. Verily the Hindus as a people differ most markedly from any other people in the world than they differ amongst themselves. All tests whatsoever of a common country, race, religion, language that go to entitle a people to form a nation, entitle the Hindus with greater emphasis to that claim. And whatever differences divide the Hindus amongst themselves are rapidly disappearing owing to the re-awakening of the national consciousness and the Sangathan and the social reform movements of to-day.

"Therefore the Hindu Mahasabha that has, as formulated in its current constitution, set before itself the task of 'the maintenance, protection and promotion of the Hindu race, culture and civilization for the advancement and glory of Hindu Rashtra' is pre-eminently a natianal body representing the Hindu Nation as a whole.

"Are not they themselves who swear by the name of Indian Nationalism, in season and out of season, liable to the same charge of parochialness? If the Mahasabha represents the Hindu Nation only, they claim to represent the Indian Nation alone. But is not the concept of an Indian Nation itself a parochial conception in relation to human State? In fact the earth is our Motherland and Humanity our Nation.

Nay and Vedantist goes further and claims this Universe for his country and all manifestations from the stars to the stone his own self. 'आमुचा स्वदेश । भुवनत्रयामध्यें वास ॥' says Tukaram! Why then take the Himalayas to cut us off from the rest of mankind, deem ourselves as a separate Nation as Indians and fight with every other country and the English in particulars who after all are our brothers-in-Humanity! Why not sacrifice Indian interests to those of the British Empire which is a larger political synthesis? The fact is that all Patriotism is more or less parochial and communal and is responsible for dreadful wars throughout human history. Thus the Indian Patriots who instead of starting and joining some movement of a universal state, stop short of it, join an Indian Movement and yet continue to mock at the Hindu Sangathan as narrow and communal and parochial succeed only in mocking at themselves.

"As the national representative body of Hindudom the Hindu Mahasabha aims at the all round regeneration of the Hindu people. But the absolute political independence of Hindusthan is a sine qua non for that all round regeneration of Hindudom. The fortunes of the Hindus are more in-extricably and more closely bound up with India than that of any other non-Hindu sections of our country-men. After all the Hindus are the bedrock on which an Indian independent state

could be built. Whatever may happen some centuries hence, the solid fact of to-day cannot be ignored that religion weilds a mighty influence on the minds of men in Hindusthan and in the case of Mahommedans especially their religious zeal more often than not borders on fanaticism! Their love towards India as their Motherland is but a handmaid to their love for their Holyland outside India. Their faces are ever turned towards Mecca and Madina. But to the Hindus Hindusthan being their Fatherland as well as their Holyland, the love they bear to Hindusthan is undivided and absolute. They not only form the overwhelming majority of Indian population but have on the whole been the trusted champions of her cause. A Mahommedan is often found to cherish an extra-territorial allegiance, is moved more by events in Palestine than what concerns India as a Nation, worries himself more about the well being of the Arabs than the well being of his neighbours and countrymen in India'.........A Hindu patriot worth the name cannot but be an Indian patriot as well. In this sense the consolidation and the independence of Hindu Nation is but another name for the independence of the Indian Nation as a whole.

"India is dear to us because it has been and is the home of our Hindu Race, the land which has been the cradle of our prophets and heroes and gods and god-

men. Otherwise land for land there may be many a country as rich in gold and silver on the face of the earth. River for river the Missicipi is nearly as good as the Ganges and its waters are not altogether bitter. The stones and trees and greens in Hindusthan are just as good or bad stones and trees and greens of their respective species else-where. Hindusthan is a Fatherland and Holyland to us not because it is a land in the world but because it is associated with our History; it has been the home of our forefathers, wherein our mothers gave us the first suckle at their breast and our fathers cradled us on their knees from generation to generation.

"The real meaning of Swarajya then, is not merely the geographical independence of the bit of earth called India. To the Hindus independence of Hindusthan can only be worth having if that ensures their Hindutva—their religious, racial and cultural indentity. We are not out to fight and die for a 'Swarajya' which could only be had at the cost of our 'Swatva', our Hindutva itself

"Let the Indian State be purely Indian. Let it not recognise any invidious distinctions whatsoever as regards the franchise, public services, offices, taxation on the grounds of religion and race. Let no cognizance be taken whatsoever of man's being Hindu or Mahommedan, Christian or Jew. Let all citizens of that

Indian state be treated according to their individual worth irrespective of their religious or racial percentage in the general population. Let that language and script be the national language and script of that Indian state which are understood by the overwhelming majority of the people as happens in every other state in the world, i. e. in England or the United States in America and let no religious basis be allowed to tamper with that language and script with an enforced and perverse hybridism whatsoever. Let 'one man one vote' be the general rule irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion. If such an Indian State is kept in view the Hindu Sangathanists in the interest of the Hindu Sangathan itself will be the first to offer their wholehearted loyalty to it. I for one and thousands of the Mahasabhaites like me have set this ideal of an Indian State as our political goal ever since the beginning of our political career and shall continue to work for its consummation to the end of our life. Can any attitude towards an Indian State be more national than that?

"Justice demands that I must plainly proclaim that the mission and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha with regard to an Indian State have been more national than the present day policy of the Indian National Congress itself.

"Fortunately for the Hindus Mr. Jinnah and the

Moslem Leaguers have deliberately disclosed their real intentions.........I thank them for it. An open enemy is safer than a suspicious friend in dealing with him.........They want the unalloyed Urdu to be raised to the position of the national tongue of the Indian State.........The Moslems will not tolerate the 'Vande Mataram' song. The poor unity-hankers amongst the Hindus hastened to cut it short.

"When will our unity-hankers understand that the real question at the root of this Moslem displeasure is not a word here or a song there. We would have sacrificed a dozen songs or a hundred words of our own free will if thereby we could really contribute to the unity and solidarity of Hindusthan. But we know the question is not so simple as that. It is the strife of different cultures and races and nations and these trifles are but the passing and outward symptoms of this malady deep seated in the Moslem mind. They want to brand the forehead of Hindudom and other non-Moslem sections in Hindusthan with a stamp of self-humiliation and Moslem domination and we Hindus are not going to tolerate it any longer not only in the interests of Hindudom alone but even in the interest of Indian nation as well.

"The Moslems in Bengal as everywhere did not claim a special representation or weightage in sufferings and sacrifice......The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq threatens, the

very Hindus in Bengal who struggled most and suffered most, to whose sufferings alone Mr. Huq owes his 'gaddi' that he will 'satao' (सताबेगा) them, in all shades of the meaning of that word from teasing to oppressing! I should like to assure the Honourable Mr. Fazlul Huq that the Bengal Hindus are a hard nut to crack. They have at times forced some of the prancing Proconsuls of even the powerful British Empire like Lord Curzon to climb down! But if he ever does persecute our Bengal Hindus then let him not forget that we Hindus also can in Maharastra and elsewhere deal out to his comrades the same treatment, measure for measure, full to the brim and well shaken!

"I need not refer to the attitude of the Moslems as regards the Communal Award and the Federatian in which case also they want to humiliate the Hindus and Shy-lock-like insist on having their pound of flesh!

"Hands-off, sir, hands off! If you aim thus to reduce the Hindus to the position of helots in their own land you should do well to remember that the succession of Aurangzebs when they weilded an Imperial power here had failed to perform that feat and in their attempt to carry out that design only succeded in digging their own grave! Surely, Jinnahs and Huqs cannot accomplish what Aurangzebs failed to achieve!

"Let the Hindus remember that the real cause of this mischief is nothing else but the hankering of the Hindus after the Will-o'-the-Wisp of a Hindu-Moslem unity. The day we gave the Mahommedans to understand that Swarajya could not be won unless and until the Mahommedans obliged the Hindus by making a common cause with them that day we rendered an honourable unity impossible.........The only threat that Mahommedans always hold before the Hindus is to the effect that they would not join the Hindus in the struggle for Indian Freedom unless their anti-national and fanatical demands are granted on the spot. Let the Hindus silence the threat once for all telling point blank 'friends! we wanted and do want only that kind of unity which will go to create an Indian State in which all citizens irrespective of caste or creed, race or religion are treated alike on the principle of one man one vote'.........We are out to win Swarajya in which our स्वत्व along with the स्वत्व of all other constituents will be safe. We are not out to fight with England only to find a change of masters but we Hindus aim to be masters in our own house. A Swarajya that could only be had at the humiliation and cost of Hindutva itself is for us Hindus as good as suicide. If India is not freed from foreign domination the Indian Moslems cannot but be slaves themselves. If they feel it to be true, if and when they

feel they cannot do without the assistance and the good will of the Hindus let them come then to ask for unity and that also not to oblige the Hindus but to oblige themselves. A Hindu-Moslem unity which is effected thus is worth having. The Hindus have realized to their cost that in this case seeking unity is losing it. Henceforth the Hindu formula for Hindu-Moslem unity is only this— 'If you come, with you; if you don't without you; and if you oppose, inspite of you—the Hindus will continue to fight for their National Freedom as best as they can!'

"I exhort you all to assert yourselves as Hindus! Down with apologetic attitude that makes some of us feel shy to proclaim themselves as Hindus, as if it was something unnational, something like a disgrace to be born of the line of Shree Rama and Shree Krishna—Shivaji and Pratap and Govindsingh! We Hindus must have a country of our own in the Solar System and must continue there as Hindus—descendants of a mighty people. Then up with the Shuddhi which has not a religious meaning alone but a political side as well! Up with Sangathan for the consummation of which it is simply imperative for us Hindus to capture whatever political power has been wrung out by efforts in the past under the present Reforms Act..........You must henceforth vote for those who are not ashamed themselves of being Hindus,

openly stand for the Hindus and pledge themselves not to keep burning insense, always at the cost of the Hindus before the fetish of a dishonourable unity cult. ......This alone will save not only the Hindu Nation of ours but even the Indian State to come. For truly Hindus are and cannot but be the main stay of our Indian State ! We shall ever guarantee protection to the religion, culture and language of the minorities for themselves, but we shall no longer tolerate any aggression on their part on the equal liberty of the Hindus to guard their religion, culture and language as well. If the non-Hindu minorities are to be protected then surely the Hindu majority also must be protected against any aggressive minority in India !

"I assure you, Oh Hindus, that if but you lose no self-confidence in yourselves and are up and doing in time, all that is lost may yet be regained. There is some such virility and staying power inherent in your race as find a few parallels in the annals of the world. Let alone the Daityas and Asuras you vanquished in your mythological and the prehistorical period of your annals—but your very history dates from some two thousand years B. C. ! Amdist the terrible struggle for existence which is incessantly going on in creation, survival of the fittest is the rule. The nations or the mighty Inkas and Pharaphs and Nebuchadnezers were swept away and no trace left

behind. But you survived those national cataclysms because you were found the fittest to survive. There are ups and downs in the life of every nation. This very England which rules today over an Empire had often fallen an easy prey to the Romans and the Danes, the Dutch and the Normans as well. We too had to face great national disasters. But each time we rose and tided them over. The Greeks under Alexander, the Great, came conquering the world but they could not conquer Hindusthan. Chandragupta rose and we drove the Greeks back inflicting crushing defeats on them military and cultural. Three centuries after the Huns came on us like an avalanche. All Europe and half Asia lay at their feet, they smashed the Roman Empire to pieces. But after some two centuries of a life and death struggle against them we vanquished them in the end under our Vikramaditya, the Great. The Shakas also fared no better. The mighty hands of Shalivahan and Yashodharman beat them a chip. Where are those of our enemies—the Huns and the Parthians and the Shakas—today? Their very names are forgotten! Gone, effaced from the face of India and the world as well. The virility and the staying out power of our race triumphed over them all.

"Then centuries after Mahommedans invaded India and carried everything before them. Their kingdoms and Empires seemed to reign supreme. But we rallied

again and ever since the day that Shivajee was born the God of War sided with us. Battle after battle we beat the Mosleme in a hundred field; their Kingdoms and Empires, their Nawabs and Shahas and Badshahas were brought to their knees by our warriors till at last Bhausaheb, the Commander-in-Chief of the Hindus, as if symbolically raised his Hammer and literally smashed the very Imperial throne of the Moghals at Delhi to pieces; Mahadajee Shinde held the imbecile Moghal Emperors as prisoners and pensioners in his custody and the Hindu supremacy was once more re-established all over the land.

"In the meanwhile before we could recover from the struggle of centuries with Moslems, the English faced us and won on all points. We do not grudge them their victory. Because, though we were vanquished in the field yesterday, yet enough fight is still left in us today. We have not given up the struggle for lost. Nay, we have already returned to the charge."

SOME OF THE

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

FROM

1918—1937.

5TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

DELHI, DECEMBER 1918

PRESIDENT : HON'BLE RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH, K. C. I. E. (OUDH).

DEMAND FOR RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Resolved that this Conference is strongly of opinion that the Indian people while fully devoted to the British Government and sincerely desirous to have a lasting connection with it, are not satisfied with the present form of Government prevailing in India, and are eager to have Responsible Self-Government immediately so as to be placed on a footing of equality in all respects with other citizens of the British Empire.

SEPARATE COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Resolved that this Conference re-affirms its strong opposition to the introduction of creed and colour considerations in the matter of representation in the

Legislative Councils under the new Scheme of Reforms and in employments under the Government and insists that individual merit should be the only consideration to the same, but in case this principle is deviated from, the representation of the Hindus should be fixed just in proportion to their numerical strength.

This Conference further desires that if any special consideration is shown to any non-Hindu Community where it is in minority, the same consideration be shown to the Hindus also where they are in minority.

That this Conference depreciates the extension of separation and excessive communal representation to local bodies in any province and protests against the proposals made by the Committee of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces to introduce such provisions in the constitution of the District Boards, as will have the effect of giving to the Moslems three times the number of seats in them as compared with their ratio in population.

COW PROTECTION

Resolved that this Conferenee is strongly of opinion that the stoppage of cow killing in Hindusthan would be hailed with great joy and deep thankfulness by the entire Hindu Community, would bring prosperity to the people, and remove all cause of friction between the different communities in Hindusthan, and

it therefore earnestly requests the Govt. to be so gracious as to take steps in consultation with the leading Hindus and Mohammedans that no cow would be killed in Hindusthan in future.

SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

Resolved that in view of the signal services that Hindus have rendered to the Empire and the immense sacrifices they have gladly made in the prosecution of this horrible War, this Conference urges upon the British Prime Minister, the Representatives of the Indian Govt. on the Peace Conference and other members thereof, the restoration intact to Hindusthan of all Sanskrit Manuscripts and old Indian Instruments in German custody.

6TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

HARDWAR, APRIL 1921.

PRESIDENT : MAHARAJA BAHADUR OF KASIMBAZAR

THE NANKANA TRAGEDY

Resolved that this Conference expresses its indignation and abhorrence at the tragic happenings at

Nankana Sahib and expresses its hearty sympathy with the relatives of the deceased Sikhs.

THE "DIVIDE AND RULE" POLICY

Resolved that this Conference is firmly of opinion that the movement to create split between the Brahmans and non-Brahamans in Southern India and Kumaun, and the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab is a relic of the old "divide and rule" policy of interested persons and warns all Hindus not to play in their hands in future and to do nothing, which would mar Hindu union and solidarity.

THE N. W. FRONTIER PROVINCE ADMINISTRATION

Resolved that this Confereuce is emphatically of opinion that the Government have miserably failed to give protection of life, honour and property to the residents of the North Western Province, the administration of which is a standing blot on the present system of bureaucracy.

COW PROTECTION

(a) That this Conference expresses its strong protest and resentment against the callous disregard of the deep seated and most cherished religious sentiments of the Hindus displayed continuously by the

present Government in the matter of allowing slaugther of cows for the Military and export of beef, cows and bullocks to other countries, and is deliberately of opinion that the time has come when Hindus should realize that the responsibility to protect their Dharma in this matter lies with them and them alone, and they should be prepared to make all legitimate and peaceful efforts and undergo all sufferings and sacrifices for the achievement of their object.

(b) That strong propaganda work should be started at once to get the slaughter of cows in Hindusthan and their export to other countries stopped immediately and in case their deep religious sentiments are not heeded to by the Government before that date, a special Conference of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha be held on the next Janmashtmi, the sacred day of the birth of Bhagwan Shri Krishna at the holy place of Brindaban where the Lord tended the cows, with a view to decide the future line of action in the matter.

7TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

BENARES, AUGUST 1923.

PRESIDENT : PT. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

VOLUNTEERS' CORPS

The Mahasabha desires the formation of Hindu Volunteers' Corps at every village and town for the social service of the Hindu Community and its protection when necessary, and declares it to be the duty of the members of these corps to preserve peace and order in their locality, in co-operation with the followers of other religions, if possible.

REMOVAL OF MAHARAJA OF NABHA

It expresses its dis-satisfaction and pain at the removal of the Maharaja of Nabha from his Gaddi as in its opinion no Indian Prince should be removed from his rightful inheritance without placing his case before the members of his order. The Mahasabha thinks it necessary in the interest of justice and fair play, that even now his case should be placed before the Chamber of Princes.

USE OF SWADESHI

The Hindu Mahasabha enjoins upon all Hindus, in the interest of economic and religious welfare of

the country, the duty of using indigenous cloth only preferably one made of hand-spun thread.

RECLAMATION OF MALKANAS

The Mahasabha declares it to be perfectly legitimate and proper to retake such Malkana Hindus into the fold of Hinduism as have all along observed Hindu customs and kept their marriage ties pure, whether they are Rajputs, Brahamans, Vaishyas, Jats, Gujars or members of any other castes. It expresses its satisfaction at the reclamation of the Malkanas already taken back into their 'biradaries' and expresses a hope that their 'biradaries' would gladly welcome them back into their fold.

HINDUS BEYOND SEAS

The Mahasabha expresses its great indignation at the decision recently arrived at by the British Cabinet with regard to the status of Indians in Kenya and solemnly announces that India would never rest satisfied until Indians are accorded equal treatment with the European settlers in that Colony.

8TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

CALCUTTA, APRIL 1925.

PRESIDENT : SHRI L. LAJPAT RAI

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

As it is essential to have one nation for peace and happiness and for the establishment and maintenance of Swarajya in the country; and also as the opinion of the committee appointed at the special session of Belgaon to ascertain and formulate Hindu opinion on the subject of Hindu-Muslim problem is that Communal Representation in regard to national institutions and the services has been harmful and detrimental to create a united nation, Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the introduction of such a system; also Mahasabha appeals to its non-Hindu brothers to give up such anti-national demands and help the Hindus in establishing a national solidarity and one-ness.

9TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

DELHI, MARCH 1926.

PRESIDENT : RAJA NARINDRA NATH

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha requests all Hindus to remove such restraints as may be existing at present in the way of the so-called untouchable Hindus using public schools, public wells and public roads and attending public meetings.

(b) The Mahasabha further requests the authorities of Hindu temples to provide facilities to the so-called untouchable Hindus for Deva-Darshan.

SHUDDHI.

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha draws the attention of the Hindus of all the provinces in general, and those of Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Central Provinces, Gujrat, Madras and N. W. F. Province in particular, and of the Hindu Sabhas of these provinces to the distressful state of Hindus all over the country and in the aforesaid provinces in particular, where the numerical

defection of Hindus has been and is going on steadily, year by year, and where Non-Hindus convert Hindu boys, girls and widows to their faiths by offering them all kinds of inducements. This Mahasabha urges the Hindu Sabhas and the Hindus of the above provinces to take steps to take back all converts into the fold of their 'biradaries' and sects after the performance of requisite 'prayaschit.'

(b) The Mahasabha expresses the opinion that it is perfectly legitimate and proper that those Malkanas, Moolas and Sanyogis whether they belong to the Rajput, Brahman, Vaishya, Jat, Gujrati or any other castes, who have all along followed Hindu customs and whose marriage relations have been pure, should be taken back into their castes (biradaries) and sects after requisite 'prayaschit' in accordance with their respective customs (maryada). The Mahasabha further expresses its satisfaction at some of these people having been taken back into their 'biradaries' and hopes that the 'biradaries' will welcome them in their fold and will try to take back at a very early date all those who have not been so far taken back.

(c) It is further the opinion of the Mahasabha that such non-Hindus as feel reverence for and express faith in Hinduism should be admitted into the Hindu fold.

HINDI LANGUAGE AND NAGRI CHARACTERS.

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha urges the Hindus of all provinces and colonies to learn Hindi language, the 'lingua franca' of Hindusthan, and specially the Nagri script in which all the Hindu scriptures are written. It also enjoins Hindus residing in the provinces where their mother-tongue is Hindi to conduct all their business and keep their accounts in Hindi and trusts that the various Hindu organisations situated in those provinces will conduct the business of their offices in Hindi. This Mahasabha calls upon the various Provincial Hindu Sabhas to make adequate arrangements for teaching Hindi to Hindu boys studying in the Primary schools of their provinces.

(b) This Mahasabha requests the writers and publishers of Sanskrit books to write and publish them in Deva Nagri characters instead of in their Provincial Scripts.

COUNCIL ELECTIONS

The Hindu Mahasabha confirms and adopts the resolution of the Working Committee passed at Simla on the 23rd August, 1925, to the effect that Hindu Sabhas should not put forward candidates for election but in case of an apprehension that any candidate is undesirable for and will be harmful to Hindu interests,

it should be the duty of Hindu voters to oppose such candidate.

The Mahasabha authorises its Working Committee to take, in consultation with Provincial Hindu Sabhas and having regard to conditions obtaining in different provinces, all proper steps, to safe-guard Hindu interests including the running of elections of its own candidates where necessary.

This Mahasabha requests and expects all political parties in the Legislatures so to arrange their party programme and work as to leave members of the different religious communities free to vote on matters affecting their own particular community.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

The Hindu Mahasabha is emphatically of opinion :

1. That as the principle of Communal Representation and Separate Electorates, far from bringing the different communities together, has proved a serious hindrance to the growth of national feeling and to the smooth working of Municipal, District, Provincial and National Representative institutions, it is the duty of Hindu politicians of all shades of political opinion to make a determined stand against this vicious principle.

2. That under no circumstances will the Hindu

Community accept any peacemeal revision of the Lucknow Pact in favour of any particular community.

3. That in any future scheme of Provincial Autonomy or Responsible Self-Government an express clause be inserted declaring it illegal for any Provincial Government to discriminate by caste or creed in respect of acquisition of civic rights or posts in public services.

REFORMS IN N. W. F. PROVINCE

Whereas the administration of the N. W. F. Province was separated from the Punjab with the express object of bringing it directly under the Government of India and whereas the safety of India from foreign aggression and also the protection of non-Muslim inhabitants of that province require that the administration of that province should continue to be an All-India concern, and whereas there is large deficit in the finance of that province which is made good by the Central Government, the Mahasabha is strongly opposed to the proposal to convert the administration of that province into a separate province under the Government of India Act and is of opinion that it should continue to remain under the direct administration of the Central Government.

PROCESSIONAL MUSIC AND ARTI

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha regrets to note that cases of unwarrantable interference with observance of Hindu religious rites, ceremonies and festivals and taking out of religious and other processions are becoming of frequent occurrence in the country. The Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that in the circumstance of the situation it is clearly the duty of every Hindu and Hindu organisation to take every such concerted and legitimate step as may be necessary to ensure that Hindus shall be free as heretofore to observe their festivals and to perform their religious rites and ceremonies without molestation by any one.

(b) The Hindu Mahasabha calls upon all Provincial and Local Hindu Sabhas to render all necessary guidance and assistance to Hindus, at places where their rights are interfered with, in all legitimate steps they might take to prevent such interference.

pessimism and hopelessness and believe in the well-known words of Tilak : 'Swaraj is our birth-right and I shall have it.' He then appreciated the activities and work done by Dr. Moonje in founding a military college which in Panditji's opinion was a dire necessity for the Hindus. Panditji in the end dealt with the problems of cow-protection, commercial and industrial enterprises and gave many practical suggestions to carry out the schemes for them to a success. He alluded to the question of the uplift of the depressed classes and asked the Hindus to be more careful in this respect, to ameliorate their condition and never to look them down as our Shastras enjoin us to do.

In the end Panditji announced that within 12 months he would collect a sum of Rs. One Crore for the Hindu Mahasabha to carry on the work according to its own programme which he clearly and at great length explained to the huge audience.

HIS HOLINESS SHRI SHANKARACHARYA,

(DR. KURTKOTI), NASIK.

LAHORE, OCTOBER 1936.

"And freedom is only possible if the alien Faiths that have separate independent nations and spheres of activity of their own for the development of their own cultures are made to live here peacefully and on friendly terms with the Hindus. They must be made to understand that Hindusthan is primarily for the Hindus and that the Hindus live for the preservation and development of the Aryan culture and the Hindu Dharma which are bound to prove beneficial to all humanity.

"I affirm that in Hindusthan the national race, religion and language ought to be that of the Hindus. With this as the basic principle of our national constitution joint electorates without any reservation of seats for particular groups or communities offer the right solution of the problem of minority representation. It will be in conformity with the highest ideals of democracy and also in keeping with the principles of equality and other tenets for which Hinduism stands.

But if any guarantee or safeguard for the protection of any minorities is needed, the Minority Guarantee Treaties of the League of Nations provide it most effectively.

"For while the Communal Decision delivers an attack from the outside, there are many fissiparous and cantankerous agencies within the structure of the Hindu society itself which gnaw at its vitals from within. There are many evil practices and institutions among the Hindus that have crept in now and then since the Hindus forgot the progressive principles of their ancestors, which all conspire to make the Hindus a weak and disjointed community. More than the Communal Decision it is these that menace Hinduism and the Hindus. That menace must be combatted. It is only when these evil agencies are buried low down never to rise again that the Hindus shall emerge into a strong, united and militant race and then alone will the Hindus be the worthy bearers of the torch of Hindu culture and Hindu Dharma.

"The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only premier representative institution of the Hindus ought to organize itself in such a manner as to be able to achieve all these objectives. There should be a strong elected representative executive at the centre of this body which can sketch the plan of action and work it out. Fresh blood should be infused in it by changing some

members of that executive body by rotation but consistency of policy should be maintained by retaining a few members in office for some more years.

"The culture of a nation is vitally connected with its language. The stamp of a foreign culture on a nation can be detected from the impress of a foreign language on the mother-tongue. Every independent nation guards and preserves its national language for this reason. Hindusthan, therefore, should insist on making Hindi the lingua-indica of the country. We should realise the fact that every foreign word admitted into our language spells the death of the original Hindi synonym of it. Such indiscreet incorporation does not enrich the language but on the contrary it weakens it. We should emphasise the purity of the Hindi language just as we insist on the purity of the Hindu culture.

"Under the circumstances the Hindu Mahasabha ought to have its own representatives in the legislatures to guard the interests and promote the rights of the Hindus. The Mahasabha, therefore, should fight the elections on its own ticket but that fight should be on the clear issue of the protection of Hindu interests.

"Hinduism has kept alive the torch of the ancient Aryan culture and civilization. To preserve that culture, it is our duty to preserve Hinduism itself, not as a mummified specimen in a museum of antiquities, but as a living growth that has come down to us from

preached by Guru Gobind Singh. The remedy is there. It is for the Hindu youths to come in the field and practise it for themselves. Those who cannot afford to give their lives for the noblest cause of preserving their great and ancient race have got other modes to take part in that great 'yajna'. The rich can give their riches, the learned their knowledge and the strong their strength. I have a plan in my mind to establish at Delhi a home for such workers who would devote their lives to this noble cause. It is yet a plan. It can materialise by offerings of life and wealth from some of the people who have got a feeling heart."

SHRIYUT BHIKSHU UTTAMA, BURMA.

CAWNPORE, APRIL 1935.

The President was highly pleased and expressed his thankfulness to the Hindus for appreciating his services rendered for the uplift of Burmese and propagation of Boddha Dharma in Burma. He said, "I have not done any remarkable service to Hindu Mahasabha and yet you have given me such a high honour. All this indicate that you all consider one crore Boddha Burmese as your brethren, you love them and take them as part and parcel of the great Hindu Society and whatever service I have done to them, you all highly appreciate and hold me in great estimation." He further in his speech elucidated the fact that after a careful study of the Boddha and Hindu religions he was emphatically of opinion that "Bhagwan Buddha was one of the staunch Hindus that ever lived. Buddha never gave up the Hindu Dharma; on the contrary he gave to it a new colour and new life and extended it beyond the bounds of Hindusthan." The great Bhikshu in his resentment at the policy of British Govt. to separate Burma from the rest of

Hindusthan says, "I consider it (the separation of Burma from Hindusthan) sacriligious and take it no less than cutting the Aryan culture and Aryan race to pieces." He thanked the Hindu Mahasabha for its taking the wise step in sending their representatives to Japan to attend the 25th Centenary of Lord Buddha to pay homage to His Blessed memory on behalf of the Hindus of Hindusthan. He criticised the policy of the Indian National Congress in as much as the latter is vociferous in calling Hindu Mahasabha as a Communal body. In the end he exhorted the Hindus to be more kind and considerate towards their brethren of depressed classes, to ameliorate their condition, to make changes in their social and religious practices and thus to consolidate their own ground internally.

He at great length deplored the pro-Muslim and anti-national policy of the Indian National Congress and refuted all allegations that Hindu Mahasabha is a communal organization.

SHRIYUT PT. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, BENARAS.

POONA, DECEMBER 1935.

Tracing his connection with the Hindu Mahasabha since its very inception in 1916, Panditji eulogised the services of Dr. Moonje, Bhai Parmananda and Lala Lajpat Rai. He then briefly described the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha in general and those of Hindu leaders in particular for obtaining Swarajya. "But," he deplored, "instead of Swarajya an 'Anti-Indian' Constitution (Communal Award) was thrust upon the people of Hindusthan." He says further, "This is the state of things after 50 years' struggle, efforts and sacrifices; our future seems to be dark; all cry for Swarajya but an 'Award' is given which is anti-Hindu. What is this Communal Award ? This is nothing but the reducing of Hindus who make 75% of the population to a position of non-entity and insignificance. I do not have any grudge for Muslims but what has been awarded is unbearable for me." Panditji condemned separate electorates, and communal riots and exhorted Hindus and Muslims to be considerate and thoughtful. He asked the Hindus to give up

All Parties Convention; but, as Moslem opinion as represented in the All India Moslem Conference held at Delhi during the X'mas Vacations has rejected that Report, the Hindu Mahasabha believing as it does that communalism is fundamentally opposed to nationalism reiterates its original essentially nationalistic position and calls upon all Hindus to work for and support a Constitution based on the principles which were propounded by the last Jubbulpore Session of the Hindu Mahasabha and are re-stated as below in a slightly amended form to suit the present circumstances:—

(a) That there shall be uniformity of franchise for all communities in each province.

(b) That elections to all the elective bodies shall be by mixed electorates.

(c) That there shall be no reservation of seats on communal considerations in any of the Elective Bodies and Educational Institutions.

(d) That the basis of representation of different communities shall be uniform, such as voting strength or taxation.

(e) That there shall be no communal representation in the Public Services which must be open to all communities on the basis of merit and competency ascertained through open, competitive tests.

(f) That the re-distribution of provinces in Hindusthan, if and when necessary, shall be made on their own merits in the light of principles capable of a general application with due regard to administrative, financial, strategic and similar other considerations but no new province shall be created with the object of giving a majority therein to any particular community.

2. The Reform Scheme, in its entirety or otherwise, will neither be workable nor beneficial in the North-West Frontier Province, owing to the peculiar conditions—geographical, financial and political obtaining in this province, and that it is sure to be detrimental to good Government and highly prejudical to all-India interests.

. 3. That with regard to the Moslem demands for separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency and for reservation of one third of elected seats in the Central Legislature for the Moslems, Hindu Mahasabha resolves that in view of the fact :

(a) that the creation of new provinces primarily or solely with a view to increase the number of provinces in which a particular community shall be in majority is fraught with danger to the growth of sound nationalism in the country and will divide India into Hindu India and Muslim India;

(b) that the redistribution of any province without

the consent and agreement of the two major communities residing in that province is likely to increase the area of communal conflict and endanger the relations between the two major communities not only in that province but throughout Hindusthan; and

(c) that the separation of Sind will not only be a costly financial proposition, but would also arrest its economic development and its educational advancement and deprive the people of Sind of the many undeniable benefits of their association with the more advanced people of the other parts of the Bombay Presidency in their economic as well as political developments;

Sind should not be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

In view of the fact that the prime object of the Hindu Mahasabha is to exorcize communalism as rapidly as possible from the public administration of the country, the Hindu Mahasabha is unable to agree to the reservation of 1/3rd of the elected seats in the Central Legislature for the Moslems.

THE COMING ELECTIONS AND THE HINDU MAHASABHA

Resolved that the Hindu Mahasabha authorises its Working Committee to do everything needful as it may think best in the name of the Hindu Mahasabha

in respect of the forthcoming general elections to the Legislatures.

13TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

AKOLA, AUGUST 1931.

PRESIDENT : SYT. C. VIJIARAGHAWACHARIAR

CENSUS OF INDIA

This Conference emphatically deprecates the policy of the Govt. in arranging census statistics in such a way as to lessen seemingly the number of the Hindu population of Hindusthan by enumerating various Hindu sections and communities as non-Hindus. This Mahasabha, in discharge of its duty, will continue to treat all such people and classes as continuing within the fold of Hinduism, and would respectfully protest against Govt. excluding these people from the Hindu Community for any purpose political or administrative.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND THE HINDUS

The Hindu Mahasabha emphatically protests that the representation of the Hindus, in the same

communal sense in which the Muslims are represented on the Round Table Conference, is inadequate and highly defective generally and particularly in so far as :—

(a) there is not one single representative of the Hindus of Sindh and of the N. W. F. Provinces while there are two representatives of Muslims of Sindh and one of those of the N. W. F. Province and,

(b) there is no representative of the Hindus on Federal Structure Committee in the same communal sense in which the Muslims are represented by Mr. Jinnah and Sir M. Shafi, the Presidents of the two sections of the Muslim League and Dr. Shafait Ahmed Khan.

The Hindu Mahasabha hereby declares that in view of the fact that the Hindus of Sindh were not represented on the Round Table Conference and its Sindh Sub-Committee, the decisions of the Sub-Committee are exparte and, therefore, absolutely unacceptable to the Hindus generally and to the Hindus of Sindh, who have already vehemently repudiated the decisions of the Sub-Committee, especially.

FUTURE REFORMS

In regard to the Round Table Conference the Hindu Mahasabha respectfully warns the Government that the people of Hindusthan are in no mood to be

satisfied with anything less than immediate full Dominion Status and full Responsible Government; this Conference while being emphatically of opinion that Hindusthan is quite capable of taking over immediately full responsibility for its own Government, puts on record its desire that the Round Table Conference may prove a success and that peace and friendship may be established between England and Hindusthan

(a) That, in case a certain transitory period as regards the defence of the country and imperial foreign policy be still considered needed, such period should not exceed ten years when those special reservations should automatically cease to operate.

(b) That even during such a period of transition there should be a minister or ministers in charge of the reserved subjects and the ministers shall be appointed by the Viceroy from among the elected members of the Central Legislature.

(c) That recruitment of officers holding King's Commissions in the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force should be made in India from the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force irrespective of considerations of caste or creed of the so-called martial and non-martial classes, subject always to the requisite standard of efficiency; provided that, it shall be open to the Government of India to provide for recruitment

in England to fill up such of the vacancies as may not be filled in India.

(d) That all arrangements should be made for the intensive military training of Indian boys by establishing Military Schools and Rifle Associations and organising Gymnasiums for the training of boys in the indigenous arts of self-defence such as 'lathi' play, sword-play, etc. and encouraging boys to join University Training Corps and young men to join the Territorial Force.

UNITY TALKS AND MAHASABHA

This Conference while acknowledging that the scheme of communal compromise as proposed by the Working Committee of the Congress marks an advance towards the settlement on national lines, considers it unsatisfactory and unacceptable on the following grounds :—

(a) That it discriminates between Hindu and Muslim Minorities and fixes, in respect thereof in its scheme of protection, an artificial and arbitrary limit of 25 % evidently to exclude the important Hindu Minorities in Bengal and the Punjab from the advantages of protection provided in the scheme.

(b) That it provides for the protection of the Muslim Minority of 29 % of Assembly, reserving seats for them on the population basis with power to contest additional seats while similar protection is denied to

the Hindu Minority of the Punjab which is said to have been now reduced from 30 % to 26 %.

(c) That it has practically treated the essentially constitutional question of residuary powers as a communal question and has, against the almost unanimous Hindu opinion, decided that they shall vest in the provinces instead of in the Central Government even supposing that the proposed Federalism becomes an accomplished fact.

(d) That it has treated the Muslim demand for the separation of Sindh apart from the general question of adjustment of boundaries of provinces which can only be settled through expert examination by a Boundaries Commission, and that it has conceded the Muslim demand for separation in utter disregard of the determind and reasoned opposition of the Hindus of Sindh who will thus be forced to bear a larger proportion of the inevitable increase of taxation in relation to their population as compared with the Muslims of Sindh and be called upon to pay for a thing which they naturally hate and have to forego the advantages accruing from the well-developed system of Government of an advanced province like Bombay and to submit to a backward Government deriving its inception from purely commerical interests.

(e) That it has introduced the novel and startling principles of minimum qualifications for public

services which is bound to affect the efficiency irrespective of considerations of caste or creed, besides it is uncommercial to recruit inferior talent at high price involving injustice to superior talent by placing it at a discount merely to placate this or that community.

(f) The Hindu Mahasabha has no objection to the further working of franchise and even to adult franchise; but if adult franchise be proved impractical for any reason at the present stage then the Mahasabha emphatically insists, that the franchise should be uniform irrespective of the fact whether it reflects or does not reflect in the electoral roll the proportion of population of every community.

14TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

DELHI, SEPTEMBER 1932.

PRESIDENT : SYT. N. C. KELKAR

POONA PACT

(a) This Session of the Mahasabha is immensely delighted to learn that a settlement has been arrived at between the leaders of the so-called depressed classes and the caste Hindus at Poona and that

summary of the same has been cabled to the Prime-Minister for certification and immediate announcement of its acceptance to enable Mahatma Gandhi to break his fast.

(b) The Conference heartily congratulates the leaders of all the parties concerned in the negotiation, Mahatma Gandhi particularly, on the successful termination of the negotiations.

(c) The Conference feels very much concerned at the report of the state of health of Mahatma Gandhi issued by Dr. Gilder and most earnestly prays to the Almighty God to grant him strength to bear the heavy strain caused by fasting and negotiations alike.

(d) The Conference calls upon the Government to dispense with the proposed procedure of consulting the Provincial Govts. in the matter, as public opinion in every Province has already asserted itself in unmistakable terms in favour of any settlement that may be arrived at to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

(e) The Conference hopes that the Government of India will not delay in transmitting the whole of the settlement by cable with their approval of the same and urging on the Prime Minister to alter the Award accordingly and make the necessary announcement immediately.

(P. S.—Bhai Parmanandaji could not attened the

Conference, but he sent his printed message opposing the passage of this resolution.)

COMMUNAL AWARD

(i) This Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha strongly condemns the decision of the British Govt. on the following, among other grounds :—

(a) That it maintains and extends the scope of separate communal electorates against all canons of democratic, responsible and representative Government which the British Govt. are pledged to establish in Hindusthan.

(b) That it belies the Prime Minister's own declaration in the House of Commons on 19th January 1931, emphatically condemning communal electorates and weightages in representation as they leave no room for National-Political Organizations or Parties.

(c) That it flouts the unanimous opinion of the vast Hindu Community, of the Sikhs, of important sections of Muslims, Christians, and Depressed Classes and also of the Women of India in favour of Joint Electorates.

(d) That it practically forces separate communal electorates on unwilling Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal.

(e) That it even extends separate electorates to women against their agreed demands to the contrary.

(f). That in the name of protection of minorities it has only granted protection to Muslims whether they form majority or minority; while not only no protection has been granted to Hindu minorities but they have even been deprived of a part of their representation, which they are entitled to, on the basis of their proportion in population.

(g) That it provides for differential treatment of minorities favouring Muslim and European minorities in that :—

(1) it adds an artificial and arbitrary weightage to the representation of Muslim minorities;

(2) it reduces the representation of the Hindu minorities of Bengal and Punjab below what they are entitled to on the basis of their proportion to the population;

(3) it denies to the Sikhs the weightage in representation which it grants to Muslim minority under similar condition;

(4) it grants to European and Anglo-Indian minorities a weightage of representation which is grossly out of proportion to their strength in population;

(5) it reduces the representation of the Hindu minorities of Bengal and the Punjab to what is flagrantly out of proportion to their contributions to taxation and

to the culture, charitable benefactions and general progress of their respective Provinces.

(h) It destroys the communal equipoise of the Lucknow Pact which was an agreed solution of the Communal problem and which was endorsed even by Simon Commission in the absense of any other agreed solution.

(ii) That the Communal Decision is not an award of an arbitrator to which the parties concerned are committed but it is the decision of the British Government.

(iii) That the contention that an agreed Indian solution of the communal problem is not forth-coming is unwarrantable in as much as:—

(a) The problem was, at its origin, the creation of the Government itself;

(b) its solution has been obstructed by conditions created by Govt. such as the publication of Govt. of India's despatch on Simon Commission practically conceding in advance almost all the demands of the Muslims and the exclusion of nationalist Muslims from the Round Table Conference.

(iv) That therefore as circumstances fovourable to an agreed solution do not exist, the Hindu Mahasabha, in accordance with its previous resolutions, recommends that the communal problem of Hindusthan be settled,

on all India basis, on the lines of the International Communal Award as embodied in minorities Guaranteed Treaties to which His Majesty's Govt. and the Government of India are already committed as parties and signatories, and which, in the words of Mr. Henderson now form part of the public law of Europe and of the World, guaranteeing to minorities full protection, linguistic, cultural, educational and religious but not through separate communal electorates. The Hindu Mahasabha invites all other communities to stand for this International Communal Award formulated by the highest Arbitral Body of the world as their agreed solution of the Communal problem.

(v) That in case the Communal Award is not suitably modified within reasonable time the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus to take all steps necessary both in legislatures and outside for frustrating the objects of the Anglo-Muslim Alliance on which it is based, and directs the Working Committee to prepare a programme of work to give effect to it.

NEPAL.

The Hindu Mahasabha feels highly delighted at the accession to the "gaddi" of Prime-Ministership, of His Highness Yudhvir Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana who highly values the solidarity of Hindus of Hindusthan including Nepal and outside it, and the

duty of protecting Hindu culture and religion. The Mahasabha prays for long life and health of His Highness.

RASHTRIYA SWAYAM SEWAK SANGH.

The Hindu Mahasabha appreciates the efforts of Dr. Hedgewar for starting a strong organisation of Hindus named Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in C. P. and Berar and other places and recommends that its branches be established in All Provinces so that it may be an Akhil Bharatiya Organisation.

MUSLIM STATES

That in view of complaints having been received regarding grievances of the Hindu citizens of the Moslem States of Hyderabad (Nizam), Bhopal, Bahawalpur and Rampur in respect of recruitment to public services in the States, observances of religious practices, facilities for education and imposition of alien language, the Hindu Mahasabha Session authorises the Working Committee to appoint a Committee of Enquiry to ascertain the actual facts of the situation, inviting co-operation from the officials of the States and bringing them to the notice of the authorities concerned. The Session hopes that the State authorities will give all facilities to the people to hold the conferences to ventilate their grievances openly.

15TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

AJMER, OCTOBER 1933.

PRESIDENT : SYT. BHAI PARMANANDA

COMMUNAL PROBLEM OF HINDUSTHAN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(a) The Hindus, even where they are in minorities in Provinces like Bengal, Punjab, Sindh & N.W.F. are on principle opposed to communal electorates and reservations of any form at any stage for any community in any province as a complete negation of any Responsible Government and Dominion Constitution and declare with one voice for such recognition of minorities and their safeguards as is laid down with the common consent of the principal nations of the world, including Hindusthan and England, in the treaties called Minorities Treaties signed by them and enforced on so many Sovereign States of Europe including Turkey, as a world solution of the communal problem to operate as part of "The Public Law of Europe and of the World" in the authoritative words of Mr. Arthur Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference.

In this connection the Hindu Mahasabha reminds the Government and communities concerned of the following statements of the principles of Minority Protection made at Geneva by Sir Austen Chamberlain and other leaders:—

(i) "The object of the Minorities Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measures of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged." (Sir Austen Chamberlain.)

(ii) "It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection of Minorities did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country." (M. De Mello Franco.)

(iii) "We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group." (M. Blociszewski.)

(iv) "If privileges were granted to the Minority, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority, this latter would be oppressed by the Minority and it would then the Majorities' question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations." (M. Dendarmis.)

(b) The Hindu Mahasabha holds both the Govt. of India and His Majesty's Govt. to this international solution of the communal problem to which they are bound in Law, Morality and Justice, as contributories, signatories and parties thereto, as a step towards world peace.

(c) The Hindu Mahasabha endorses the official view that the consent of communities concerned is necessary for a communal settlement, and in furtherance of that view stands up to the maintenance of 'status quo' as regards the existing communal position and arrangements in the existing constitution pending any new settlement among communities.

It takes its stand upon the findings on the subject of the Simon Commission who have ruled out the the necessity for any fresh Communal Award.

It therefore holds the present Government's Communal Award as entirely uncalled for and unjustifiable on the above cosiderations and also as being against the wishes of about eighty per cent of the Indian people, comprising Hindus, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Parsis, Indian Jews and the entire Indian womenhood, irrespective of caste or creed.

If inspite of these weighty considerations and in defiance of all parallel and precedent History, the British Government forces upon India this discredited

device of communal electorate and reservations for the protection merely of Moslem majorities and minorities, the Hindu Mahasabha warns them that it will lead to unprecedented complications, to communal separation not merely in Legislatures, but also in Administration and the Services and ultimately even to separation of Purse, each community claiming that the amount of its separate representation should depend upon that of its contribution to revenue and in taxes.

II

The Hindu Mahasabha in this momentous annual gathering at the historic city of Ajmer appeals under article XI of League Convenant in the name of India to the League of Nations of which she is an original member of the application to her of those principles and methods of Minority protection which are endorsed and made operative by world opinion on the subject and on the initiative of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, including India and England, and emphatically points out that the parties to these stipulation are especially bound by the following resolutions adopted at the Third Assembly of the League of Nations. :—

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the

League with respect to Minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their own racial, religious and linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the (Minority) Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

LABOUR AND CAPITAL

While disunion and class conflicts exist in India, this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha expressing its fullest sympathy with the need for the amelioration of the condition of the labour and the tenantry, strongly disapproves of any movement such as extinction of the capitalists and landlords as a class in as much as such movements will further accentuate divisions and sub-divisions bringing about class war which will ultimately retard all progress and make redemption of India impossible.

AGAINST SEPARATION OF SIND

The 15th Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha strongly condemns the proposed separation of Sind from Bombay on the following grounds:—

(a) That the case of separation of Sind was rejected by the Bombay Provincial Committee attached to the Simon Commission, the Chairman of which was a Sindhi Moslem.

(b) That the Government have ignored the unanimous and determined opposition of the Hindu minority of Sind who were not given a chance to represent their case in any of the three Round Table Conferences when Moslems were given two, if not three, such chances.

Thus the decision of separation of Sind is an exparte decision in a pure and naked form.

(c) That separated Sind being pronounced officially to be a deficit province with a yearly deficit of not less than eighty lacs, it will be another piece of injustice if the deficit is made good by subvention from the revenues of the Central Government and also of provinces mostly suffering from their own deficits to which the largest contribution is made by the Hindus of India who are opposed to separation equally with the Hindus of Sind.

(d) That the constitution of Sind into a separate province with the help of subvention from the Central Government will constitute a breach of faith in the face of clear ruling given by Lord Russell, the Chairman of Sind Committee—'that the recommendation of Sub-Committee is that if Sind is not able to stand financially on its own legs, separation does not take place.'

(e) That in view of acute depression in trade, agricultural produce, in price of land in Sind, and

uncertain facts involved in all the estimates of the financial and economic consequences of Sukkar Barrage, the present time is most inopportune for estimating the normal deficit of the province and the taxes to be raised for the normal growth of the expenditure, and the best interests of the country and the province demand that so important an issue as constituting Sind into a separate Governor's Province, which will saddle Sind with heavy financial responsibility, should not be considered.

HINDU MAHASABHA DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

The Hindu Mahasabha appreciates the services rendered to Hindus by Bhai Parmanandaji, Doctor B. S. Moonje, Mr. B. C. Chatterji, Pandit Nanakchand, Prof. H. L. Chablani, Rai Saheb Mehrchand Khanna, Messrs. J. L. Bannerji, G. A. Gavi and R. R. Deshmukh and resolves that whilst the Joint Parliamentary Committee is still in session steps be taken to enlighten the British public and the political leaders in England with the Justice of the Hindu cause as advocated by the Hindu Mahasabha.

ARYAN CULTURAL BROTHERHOOD

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha recognises the fundamental unity of ancient Aryan Culture of

India and of countries outside India such as China, Japan, Siam, Ceylon, etc. and requests the organisers of the Hindu Educational Institutions to found chairs for the study of Japanese, Chinese and Siamese language and literature and the respective Governments of China, Japan etc. to found similar chairs for the study of Sanskrit.

This Sabha further authorises the President to organise deputations and take other necessary steps.

This Mahasabha appreciates the recent action of the German Government towards promoting Sanskrit learning and culture.

UNITY CONFERENCE

Whereas in the opinion of the Hindu Mahasabha all efforts up-till-now towards communal unity and amity have been at a distinct sacrifice of nationalistic principles and have encouraged communalism, especially amongst the Moslems, the Mahasabha, while still appreciating and instinctively supporting all moves for unity amongst communities of India, calls upon the Hindu organisations especially and the Hindus of India generally that they shall not, in any Unity Committee or Conference in future sacrifice or even compromise nationalism for any kind of communal arrangement or adjustment.

This Session of Mahasabha deplores the lack of

feeling or fraternity amongst the Hindus and emphatically declares that no progress towards nationalism is possible unless the Hindus organise themselves, as through that alone lies the means to permanent unity for communities inhabiting Hindusthan.

16TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

CAWNPORE, APRIL 1935.

PRESIDENT: SYT. BHIKSHU OTTAMA

COMMUNAL AWARD

(a) That the Hindu Mahasabha reiterates its complete condemnation of the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government as it is Anti-National and glaring unjust, particularly to Hindus and Sikhs and declares its determination to carry on a campaign against the said Communal Decision until it is replaced by a more equitable solution.

(b) That this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha deplores the action of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly in not voting against the resolution in the Assembly, accepting the so- called Communal

Award and thus failing not only to reflect the true Hindu opinion on the subject but even to carry out their own election pledges with regard to it.

THANKS TO JAPANESE PEOPLE

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha records its cordial thanks to the organisers of the World Buddhist Conference and the Japanese people in general for the generous reception accorded by them to the delegates sent by the Hindu Mahasabha to that Conference which met last year in Tokyo to celeberate twenty-fifth Centenary of Lord Buddha.

BUDDHA DAY AS PUBLIC HOLIDAY

In view of the fact that Lord Buddha is venerated and worshipped by millions of devotees all over the world, not only by the Buddhists but also by Hindus of all sects and schools, this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha earnestly requests the Government of India to declare the Vaisakha Purnima which comes off this year (1935) on the 18th of May as a public holiday in India as it is already in Burma and Ceylon in as much as this day is triplicate sacred, being the day of not merely of his Nativity but also of his Bodha and Parinirvana.

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL-ELECTIONS

This Session of the Mahasabha is of opinion that the forth-coming elections to the Provincial

Councils should be contested with a view to protecting and upholding the Hindu interests in the legislatures and leaves it to the Provincial Sabhas to take necessary steps in that connection.

INDIA BILL

(a) This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the Government of India Bill, now before the Parliament, is totally unacceptable to every section of Indian opinion and should not be proceeded with any further, as the constitution it purposes is regarded on all hands as much worse than the existing one, and is even reactionary and obstructive to the growth of nationalism and democracy chiefly on account of its communal scheme which will keep communities constantly estranged from each other.

(b) In veiw of the fact that the British Parliament is so constituted that it is incapable of reflecting, much less, representing Indian opinion and interests in any way; further, in view of the fact that the constitution-making, now in progress for India by the Parliament has not satisfied any section of opinion in India, this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the situation calls for a radically different constitutional procedure whereby the task of constitution making for British India should be left as the concern of the Emperor of India and the Indian

people on the lines of the Statute of Westminister and the Political Conventions operating in the case of the Self-governing Dominions and also having regard to the Royal Titles Act of 1876 and its legal implications.

17TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

POONA, DECEMBER 1935.

PRESIDENT : SYT. PT. M. M. MALAVIYA

REFORMS

The Hindu Mahasabha is emphatically of opinion that, considering the legitimate political demands of the Indian people, the Government of India Act is a highly inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing measure, in that it is designed more to tighten the grip of British rule over India and to disintegrate Indian public life than to transfer real power to the people of India.

The Mahasabha further condemns the Act as it has sacrificed the interests of the Hindu Community to those of the other communities in India.

The Mahasabha is of opinion that elections to the Legislatures should be contested with a view to protecting and upholding the Hindu interests in the Legislatures and leaves it to the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to take steps in that connection wherever necessary.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ARMY AND OTHER FORCES

The Hindu Mahasabha emphatically protests against the policy of the Government in preferring persons from a few provinces and from a few specified classes only, for recruitment to the Army and other forces and not distributing recruitment over all the provinces and classes of people in India; and it requests the Government so to constitute the Army as to enable all the provinces and classes of people to equitably bear the burden of India's Defence.

MILITARY SCHOOLS AND VOLUNTEER CORPS

The Hindu Mahasabha is firmly of opinion that in order to enable the Hindus to defend their hearths and homes better and to take their proper share in the defence of the country, immediate steps should be taken to improve their physique and to give them the necessary Military training by establishing Military Schools and Volunteer Corps.

The Mahasabha welcomes the establishment at the instance of Dr. B. S. Moonje of the Central Hindu Military Education Society which is trying to establish the Bhonsala Military School and appeals to all Hindus to support the scheme.

COMMUNAL AWARD

The Hindu Mahasabha condemns the Communal Award as it is grossly unjust to Hindus and Sikhs, is anti-national and undemocratic and makes the growth of Responsible Government in India impossible.

The Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus and Sikhs to carry on agitation against the Communal Award until it is replaced by a National system of representation.

The Mahasabha reaffirms its faith in the solution of the problem of minorities laid down by the League of Nations.

SHAHIDGANJ AFFAIR

The Hindu Mahasabha notes with serious concern the deplorable situation created by the Shahidganj agitation in Lahore and outside Lahore involving the loss of property and lives of Hindus and Sikhs and directs the Working Committee to take steps to make such enquiry as it may deem fit to investigate into the happenings of Shahidganj affair taking into

account such evidence as may have been already taken in a responsible manner, in order to advise and to suggest such steps and measures as may be calculated to safe-guard the interests and rights of Hindus and Sikhs.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The Hindu Maha Sabha reaffirms its previous resolutions for giving equal access to all Hindus irrespective of their particular caste or creed and to all public amenities and institutions such as schools, wells, tanks, ghats, places of water supply, hotels, roads, parks, dharmasalas, public places of worship, burning ghats, and the like.

The Hindu Maha Sabha further affirms its faith that untouchability must not be regarded as a part of Hindu religion or social system.

The Mahasabha recommends to Hindus the abolition of all distinctions in the Hindu Society based on birth or caste in the spheres of public, social and political life in which such distinctions ought to have no application and are out of place in the present age.

VIR V. D. SAVARKAR

The Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the high-handed action of the Government of Bombay in putting unnecessary restrictions upon the movements and activities of Vir V. D.

Savarkar, Bar-at-Law, by confining him at Ratnagiri for years together.

It notes with gratefulness the splendid services which Mr. Savarkar has been rendering to the cause of Hinduism and urges the Govt. to remove all restrictions imposed upon him at present so as to enable him to serve more fully and completely his religion, community and country.

CONDEMNATION OF BIHAR CIRCULAR

The Hindu Mahasabha strongly condemns the circular issued by the Bihar Govt. in relation to important members of the Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha to check and obstruct their propaganda among the tribal Hindus of Chhota Nagpur, misnamed the Animists, among whom hundreds of Christian Missionaries have been not only allowed but helped and encouraged in every possible way to carry on proselytising activities and convert lacs of them to their own fold. While the Hindu Mahasabha notes with satisfaction the protest made against it by the members of the Bihar Council and notes further that the assurance has been given on behalf of the Bihar Govt. in this connection, it is definitely of opinion that the circular should be withdrawn, in as much as it is flagrantly unjust and is calculated in effect to seriously obstruct legitimate Hindu Missionary propaganda in those non-regulated areas.

18TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

LAHORE, OCTOBER 1936.

PRESIDENT : HIS HOLINESS SHRI JAGADGURU SHANKRACHARYA

HINDI-GURMUKHI

This Conference strongly condemns the anti Hindi-Gurmukhi Circular issued by the N. W. F. P. Govt. in the Transferred Department which is a direct attack on the language and culture of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the N. W. F. Province. It is further resolved that deputation of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha should wait upon H. E., the Vicerory and the Sikh leaders should also be approached to join the deputation.

CONDITION OF THE HINDUS IN THE MUSLIM AND SOME OF THE HINDU STATES

Th Hindu Mahasabha strongly protests against the policy of the Governments of Bhopal, Hyderabad, (Deccan), Bahawalpore, Malerkotal, Loharu, Alwar, Khetri (Jaipur), and Pataudi States in depriving Hindu subjects of their fundamental religious and civic rights.

The Mahasabha further resolves to appoint one Sub-committee for each State to investigate and to report on the conditions prevailing in each State and to take such steps as they think fit in order to secure justice to the Hindu Community.

The Committees appointed as aforesaid will make their report with a special reference to the question of music in Hyderabad State, obstruction for Shuddhi work and safety of Hindu Women in Bhopal State, compulsion for Muslim dress in Bahawalpur State, and the grievances regarding Hindi and other colloquial languages in the States.

The Working Committee is authorised to select the personnel of the Committees and take other steps in order to give effect to the above resolution.

COW SLAUGHTER AT MUTTRA

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha draws the attention of the Govt. of India to the fact that the cows and other animals are being salughtered at Muttra and other surrounding places within the limits of the sacred region of Brijamadal in contravention of the time honoured custom of respecting the sanctity of Brijamandal by altogether prohibiting animal slaughter therein.

This Session further draws the attention of the Govt. of India to the fact that even Non-Hindu Kings

of India as well as the East India Company prohibited the slaughter of cows and other animals and that the East India Company and its successors have recognised this right of the Hindus and promised subsequently to respect the Hindu sentiment in this respect.

The Mahasabha therefore puts on record its emphatic protest against the sacrilege of cow and animal slaughter in the very heart of Brijamandal at Muttra, the birth-place of Bhagwan Sri Krishna, one of the holiest and most sacred places to Hindus all over the world and requests the Government of India to take immediate steps to put a stop to the sacrilege.

This Session urges upon the Hindus all over India to carry on ceaseless agitation and propaganda until the sacred birth-place of Lord Krishna is saved from sacrilege. That, in case, the legitimate demand of the Hindus is not conceded by the end of December, 1936, active steps in the nature of Satyagraha may be adopted by the Mahasabha.

MALABAR AND KERALA CONVERSIONS

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha urges upon the Hindus in Malabar and Kerala to organise themselves with a view to counteract the conversion propaganda carried on by the Muslim and Christian Missionaries and authorises the Working Committee to adopt such means as they think fit to give effect to the

resolution and appeals to public to contribute liberally to the funds raised by the Working Committee for that purpose.

19TH AKHIL BHARATIYA HINDU MAHASABHA

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 1937.

PRESIDENT : SYT. SWATANTRA VIR V. D. SAVARKAR

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

This Conference congratulates the Maharajas of Kolhapur, Baroda, Travancore, Kashmir and Lathi states for having opened all the State temples to all Hindus irrespective of any distinction of class or caste and requests other Hindu Rulers to follow them. The Conference also congratulates such individual members of the Hindu Community who have also thrown open their temples to all classes of Hindu Community irrespective of any distinction of class or caste.

FEDERATION—PART I.

In view of the fact : (a) that under the constitution of Govt. of India Act of 1935, some elements of

Provincial Autonomy have been introduced and the Congress has been actually working the Provincial Govts. for the present, and (b) that Provincial Autonomy will not work with constitutional smoothness unless responsibility is introduced in the Central Govt. at least provided for under the Act, this Conference puts on record its deliberate opinion that inspite of the defective and unsatisfactory character of the Constitution, the Hindus should utilize whatever powers are provided for under the Act in the interest of the evolution of Hindusthan as a united nation and urges upon the Govt. to expedite the introduction of the Federation.

FEDERATION—PART II.

The Hindu Mahasabha warns the Govt. and all those who may be concerned with it that, as the Mahasabha has fundamental opposition to the so-called Communal Award and is determined to do all that lies in its power to do away with it as early as possible, the Mahasabha will not tolerate any attempt to extend the scope of the Award so as to apply also to the Indian States.

NIZAM HYDERABAD AND BHOPAL

(a) This Session condemns the murder of Vedaprakash of Nizam Hyderabad at the hands of Moslem hooligans and deplores that the Nizam Government

does not take adequate measures for protection of its Hindu subjects. It also particularly condemns the persecution of Arya Samajists. This Session expresses its heart-felt sorrow for the martyr and conveys its condolence to the bereaved family.

(b) This Session condemns the callousness of Bhopal State which refused the release of the late Bhagwan Das Rathi even while he was on death bed and calls upon the Nawab to redress the manifold grievances under which the Hindu subjects of the State labour.

REMOVAL OF BAN ON BOOKS

This Conference puts on record its protest against the Bombay Government for not releasing the proscribed books written by Shree V. D. Savarkar and most of the books written by Sjt. S. M. Paranjpe.

BENGAL

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great indignation and unequiocally condemns the communal activities of the Bengal Govt. as evidenced by several proposed legislations and administrative measures as also by the speeches of the Premier, Mr. Fazlul Huq and calls upon the Hindus of Bengal to unite and organise themselves in defence of their political, economic and cultural rights.

ASSAM

This Session of the Hindu Mahasabha condemns the Govt. policy of the unrestricted immigration into the Province of Assam, which is deliberately calculated to turn it into a Muslim majority province and calls upon the Hindus of Assam to resist this policy.

HINDU CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

This Session urges upon the Central and Provincial Governments to enact a law which may allow the accounts of Hindu Charitable Institutions to be inspected by Committees of Hindu Sabhas and to allow reasonable amount of the funds to be utilised for the religious, social and economic welfare of the Hindus.

A BRIEF HISTORY AND WORKING OF OUR PROVINCIAL HINDU SABHAS

THE PUNJAB

Established in 1908.

In 1906 the Muslim League was founded in Dacca. Next year the first step in the introduction of Reforms in this country, known as Minto-Morley Reforms, was taken. The Punjab Hindus by that time had begun to note a change in the policy of the Government and to find that it was becoming clearly pro-Mohammedan. Lord Minto himself had advised the Muslim deputation to demand separate Communal respresentation in this country. A deputation under the leadership of Sir Aga Khan waited upon Lord Minto which Moulana Mohd. Ali called a 'Command performance.' The Hindus of the Punjab found that the policy followed by the Congress was not the one which could do anything for the protection of the Hindus. Almost all the leading Hindus, belonging to different Hindu associations, met under the presidentship of Sir Protulchandra Chatterji, a retired Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab and decided to organise a new movement for safe-guarding the Hindu interests under the name of the Punjab Hindu Sabha. It was in the years 1908-'9.

This movement was extended from Delhi to certain

parts of the U. P. Then the great War broke out and created a lull in the public life of the country. Mr. (now .Sir) Shadilal, Bar-at-Law, who had worked as the Secretary of the Sabha presided at the Annual Conference of Hindu Sabha held at Delhi. Rai Lal Chand, who had acted as a Chief Court Judge and was the moving spirit of the Punjab Hindu Sabha, died in 1912. During the following years the Hindu Sabha therefore did not keep up much of its former activity. In 1921 a great Conference of the Hindu Sabha was held at Muttra under the leadership of Pt. M. M. Malaviya with the clear object of supporting the Non-Co-operation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi just as the Khilafat Conference had done it on behalf of the Muslims. But it did not do any more work.

In 1922-23 the Hindus were confronted with a new communal struggle in the country. As a reaction to the movement of Non-co-operation and Khilafat a new era had started. There grew up a spontaneous desire almost everywhere among the Hindus to do something to awaken the Hindus in the face of a new danger. The Punjab Hindu Sabha had continued its existence in Lahore but it had lost touch with the public and was confined to a very limited number. One of its rule was that its membership was not open to anybody and everybody. In Lahore a new association was formed under the name of Hindu Sangh with Shree

Bhai Parmanandji as its President, to enlist Hindus as its members with objects similar to those of the present Hindu Mahasabha. A few months after the Hindu leaders met in a Conference at Benares and an Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha with definite aims and rules was organised. A meeting of the Hindus was held and it was unanimously resolved to amalgamate the Sangh with the newly-started Mahasabha to work as its Provincial Centre in the Punjab. Shree Bhai Parmanandji was elected its first President.

The enthusiasm for the Hindu cause lasted for three years or so. During this period branches of the Hindu Sabha were organised in almost all the important towns of the Punjab. Soon a Provincial Conference was held at Lahore under the Presidentship of Malaviyaji. It was a great success and showed a new awakening among the Punjab Hindus. Again Conferences were held at Amritsar, Kangra, Ambala, Rohtak and other places. At Amritsar it was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, Bhai Parmanand, Raja Narindra Nath and Dr. Gokal Chand Narang by turns. At Kangra Pt. Din Dayal presided, at Ambala Dr. B. S. Moonje and at Rohtak Pt. Malaviyaji. Again the Punjab-Frontier-Sindh Conference was held at Lahore under the presidentship of Shree Bhai Parmanandji. On the occassion of the Congress Session in 1929 a Special Conference was held when Tatyasahib

N. C. Kelkar presided. Taking Delhi as a part of the Punjab the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha held its Annual Session in 1925—1926 under the presidentship of Raja Narindra Nath. Again the Mahasabha held its Annual Session at Lahore in 1936 when Jagadguru Shree Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtakoti) presided. On this occasion the Hindu youths held the Session of the 2nd All India Hindu Youth's Conference under the presidentship of Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee while Puj. Diwan Chand Sharma acted as Chairman of the Reception Committee.

It is worth mentioning here that Shree Bhai Parmanandji in the capaciay of the Punjab Hindu leader had to go and preside over the U. P. Provincial Hindu Conference at Lucknow, over the two Bihar Provincial Conferences held at Bhagalpore and Patna, over the three Sind Provincial Conferences held at Karachi and Sukkur and over the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Calcutta. Besides these he presided over the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha Session at Ajmere in 1933 after which he made a tour of all the provinces of India, such as, the U. P.. Bihar, Bengal, Madras, the C. P., Maharashtra, Bombay, and Gujarat. He had also toured in Burma and Assam a little earlier.

The work of the Punjab Hindu Sabha can be classified under three different heads. Apart from

doing propananda which was not very efficient the Punjab Hindu Sabha had to look to the troubles of the Hindus for which frequent occasions arose The most important of these was an appeal for the relief to be given to nearly five thousand refugees from Kohat at Rawalpindi and to maintain them for about ten months. About Rs. One Lac and a half were collected and spent on those helpless men, women and children who had been driven from Kohat quite penniless. Quite a similar and much more severe calamity fell upon the Hindus of Mirpur, a district in Jammu, when the Moslems of Kashmir, instigated and supported by the Muslims of the Punjab, practically revolted against the Maharaja's Government. Some fifteen thousand Hindus left their homes in order to save their lives from the loot and arson at the hands of their Muslim neighbours. While the Hindu Sabha gave relief to the sufferers other associations also did their part. Again the Muslims at Sikandarabad attacked the Hindus and burnt their houses and shops. In Multan the Hindus were assaulted twice or thrice and some Hindus were also murdered. From both the places appeals were made to the Hindu Mahasabha for help and all the necessary measures were taken by the Punjab Hindu Sabha to help them in their troubles. At Rawalpindi the Hindu market was put on fire by Muslims. The Punjab Hindu Sabha then helped the Hindus there.

Similarly when the Hindus in the states like Bahawalpur, Loharu, Malerkotla and Kapurthala were put to trouble the Punjab Hindu Sabha did all that was in its power to help them.

The second part of the Sabha's work is in connection with the Temple of Bir Bairagi. In the city of Lahore there are numerous small wrestling Akharas where Hindus arrange tournaments in which young wrestlers take part. But they wanted to have some place far away from the city where thousands of people interested in the tournaments could go on foot or in tongas. The Punjab Hindu Sabha got a site outside the city and spent about Rupees fifteen thousand on the construction of a theatre there where tournaments have been now held for the last thirteen years. In this theatre was also constructed a Temple to commemorate the Bir Bairagi Day, the first hero of the modem Punjab. It was this great man who after the retirement of Guru Govind Singh came to the Punjab and conquered almost the whole of it. But the Moghul Emperor, Farrukh Sayyar, suceceded in creating a division among his followers, captured him along with seven hundred soldiers by treachery and took all of them to Delhi where they were all butchered. This was Bir Bairagi's unparalleled example of true martyrdom. The Sikh writers relate almost all these facts but mention the great

hero in such a disparaging language that he was practically forgotten by the Hindus. The Punjab Hindu Sabha took it on itself to revive his memory and through him to infuse a new life among the Hindus. All this work was practically done by the late Lala Ram Nath Kapur, Punjab Hindu Sabha worker, whose death, three years' ago, has been a great loss to the Hindus and their movement.

The third part of the work is the establishment of the Industrial Ashram situated in the building of the Punjab Hindu Sabha itself. This Ashram has been in existence for the last seven years and has trained more than two hundred young men in different handicrafts and industries. Its origin is due to the special circumstances of widespread unemployment among Hindu young men. The Punjab Hindu Sabha had to meet a great difficulty in this connection. The Hindu young men who had passed the Matriculation Examination and had even read up to the Intermediate Examination came to the Punjab Hindu Sabha and appealed for help. Taking the ever-increasing problem of unemployment into consideration, the Punjab Hindu Sabha thought over the matter and decided upon a new plan. It advised them to select some handicraft which could become a means of living for them and decided that for the time they were learning that handicrafts as apprentices with some master

craftsmen it would make arrangements for their free board and lodging. As there was a large number of applicants a regular Ashram was started by the Sabha. In the beginning the number rose upto sixty and the Punjab Hindu Sabha had to spend about Rupees two hundred and fifty on their food alone. The number has been, however, gradually decreasing. At present there are more than twenty in-mates living in the Ashram and learning some kind of industry and handicraft. The maintenance of this Ashram has been due first to the munificence of R. B. Lala Sewak Ram who has been the President of the Punjab Hindu Sabha for more than six years and who has donated Rupees one hundred every month towards the Ashram and secondly to the charity of Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang who subscribes Rupees fifty a month. The Ashram has been managed by a committee of which Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma has been the president for a number of years.

It is due to ceaseless and sincere efforts of Bhai Parmanandaji who is the soul of the Hindu Sabha Movement in the Punjab, that it now possesses a property worth Rs. Two Lacs, the annual income of which is about Rs. 3000/-. This sum is spent for organization purposes.

Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang is at present the President and Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma is the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

DELHI

Established in 1918.

Delhi is one of the smallest Provincial Units of Hindusthan. But on account of its importance as the ancient and present Capital of Hindusthan its position is unique and significant. So also the Provincial Delhi Hindu Sabha and its activities are generally reflected mostly through the activities of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, the Head Office of which is located in New Delhi.

The Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha was established in 1918, when the 5th Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha which met under the Presidentship of Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E., of Oudh was invited to Delhi. But the Provincial Hindu Sabha came into prominence only when in 1925 the late Lala Lajpat Rai during the tenure of his Presidentship transferred the Head Office of the Hindu Mahasabha from Benares to Delhi.

The Provincial Hindu Sabha organised the 9th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha which took place in

Delhi in 1926 under the Presidentship of Raja Narindra Nath. This Session was a momentous one. Rai Kidar Nath, the founder of Ramjas Colleges and Schools in Delhi was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha has all along been regarded as the mouth-piece of the Hindus of Delhi. In the General Elections of the Central Assembly held here in 1926, Mr. Asaf Ali, the present Congress Member of the Central Assembly was defeated by the Hindu Sabha candidate, Mr. Rang Behari Lal, who was then only a young advocate. He made himself popular by working for the 9th Annual Session of the Hindu Mahasabha as the General Secretary of its Reception Committee and in the Riot cases of 1924.

In 1932, the Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha again invited the 15th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha which took place under the Presidentship of Syt. N. C. Kelkar. Lala Shiva Narain (Senior), Advocate, Delhi was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The strong position of the Delhi Provincial Hindu Sabha was slightly weakened in 1932 when the General Elections of the Central Assembly took place. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya who founded the Congress Nationalist Party entered into some compromise with the Congress leaders regarding the election of the Delhi Province. Owing to his pressure, the local Nationalist Party candidate, Syt. Shiva Narain with-

drew on the approach of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and Mr. Bhula Bhai Desai and this resulted in an easy walk-over for Mr. Asaf Ali who is at present representing the Delhi Province in the Central Assembly.

Once again the Delhi Hindus mustered strong under the banner of Hindu Sabha and in the local Municipal Elections of 1936, nine candidates who signed the Hindu Sabha pledge came out successful from 12 Hindu wards. In 1933, the Sabha did relief work during the flood. In the year 1938, when Veer V.D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha came to the Capital City for the first time after his release, he was warmly welcomed and an unprecedented procession was taken out in his honour.

For the last few months, an agitation is going on in Delhi against the alleged forcible occupation of Shiva Mandir by the police. This has once again brought the Hindus on a common platform in asserting themselves for protecting their religious rights. The Hindu Sabha is taking its proper share in the agitation and it can be said without exaggeration that it will strengthen the Provincial Hindu Sahha very much.

R. B. Harishchandra Advocate is at present the President of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

Established in 1919.

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms created a new political urge amongst the Indian people. Accordingly, to safeguard the political and constitutional rights and to further the social advancement of Hindus, the Hindu Sabha was established and a Provincial Hindu Sabha was organised in these Provinces in 1919.

From 1919 to the year 1934, the U. P. Provincial Hindu Sabha continued to work but not very actively. But with the discussions at the Round Table Conference regarding the rights of Hindus and the move of interested parties to severe the so-called untouchables from the Hindu fold a new awakening was created amongst the Hindus of India as a whole. These developments and the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935 gave a fresh impetus to the consolidation and re-organisation of the Hindu Sabha work in these Provinces.

In March 1934, elections of the Provincial Hindu Sabha were held. Raja Durga Narain Singh of Tirwa was elected President and Pt. Gauri Shankar Misra,

the Working President. In the following year in February 1935, Pt. Gauri Shankar Misra was elected President and Raja Durga Narain Singh was elected as one of the Vice-Presidents. Pt. Misra, however, subsequently resigned and the other elected Office-bearers did not function. The Office-bearers elected during 1934 thus continued in office.

At this stage in the United Provinces, the Nationalist Agriculturists Party was organised by a group of Taluqdars, Zamindars and persons who had vested interests to fight out the elections and to capture the political power in the Provinces. The Raja Sahib of Tirwa, the then President of the Provincial Hindu Sabha was reported to have joined hands with the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari to form a Coalition Ministry in the Provinces, of which the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari was to be the Prime Minister. The Raja Sahib of Tirwa was the Secretary of the Nationalist Agriculturists Party. The association of the President of the Provincial Hindu Sabha, representing 86 per cent of the total population of the Provinces, in a subordinate position, was highly resented by the Hindu public of these Provinces. The publication of the news in the press, which went uncontradicted, that the Raja Sahib of Tirwa had entered into a pact with the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari to form a Coalition Ministry in U. P., in which the Raja Sahib was going to be a Hindu Minister, further added fuel to

number of Moslems was proportionately much higher than what their population justified. A detailed Memorandum giving facts and figures was also submitted. His Excellency, the Governor gave the Deputationists a patient hearing and assured that their representation would receive his personal and favourable consideration.

During these years 48 branches of the Provincial Hindu Sabha representing almost all districts of these Provinces have been organised. It is through these branches that the Central Sabha keeps itself informed of all events likely to affect the rights and interests of the Hindus. Local organisations have been doing useful work in protecting the life and property of those who stand in need of the same. The Provincial Hindu Sabha has, since 1936, been sending regular contingent of delegates to the Annual Session of the Hindu Sabha. The U. P. Provincial Hindu Sabha holds a prominent place in the All India Hindu Sabha. A number of its prominent workers are associated with the main organisation of the All India Hindu Mahasabha.

During the last Elections, the Provincial Hindu Sabha also did its best to fight for the Hindus. It set up a Parliamentary Board and assisted almost 30 candidates to fight out the Elections on the Hindu Sabha ticket. Unfortunately, owing to divisions and

dissentions, none of the Hindu Sabha candidate could be got elected. Most of the influential Hindus, including the Raja Sahib of Tirwa, the past President of the Hindu Sabha, fought their elections on other than Hindu Sabha ticket. Yet, it is gratifying to state that the Sabha did its duty, though it could not control the results.

During these years amongst those who have been financially and otherwise supporting the Provincial Hindu Sabha, special mention needs be made of R. B. Vikramajit Singh who has been the life and soul of the Organisation, Dr. Sir J. P. Srivastava, Munshi Ram Kumar Bhargava, Rani Phul Kumari Sahiba of Sherkot, Kr. Surendra Pratap Sahi, R. B. Rameshwar Prasad Bagla, Lala Chhanga Mal and Raja Bahadur Bishwanath Singh Sahib of Tiloi.

During the year 1938 when the President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, Br. V. D. Savarkar visited the United Provinces, grand receptions were organised in his honour at Lucknow, Cawnpore and Agra.

Raja Bahadur Bishwanath Singh of Tiloi is at present the President, R. B. Vikramajit Singh, M. B. E., the Working President and Shri Satya Narain Pande the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

BIHAR

Established in 1922.

The Hindu Sabha movement in Bihar began as early as the year 1922. Immediately after the Malabar and Multan roits, a Special Session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Gaya with Pandit Malaviya as President and B. Rajendra Prasad as Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was highly successful. Malaviyajee promised at the Session to hold the next Annual Session at Benares with full preparations. In the meantime the Shuddhi movement with Swami Shraddhanandjee at its head was in full swing and the Muslim opposition to it made the movement all the more vigorous and popular and inspired zeal among the Hindus for the Hindu Sabha Session at Benares for which Swami Shraddhanandjee undertook a country-wide tour.

Thus the work of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha began systematically in the province. A District Conference was held at Motihari along with the Provincial political conference and was a very great success. Organisation work began to be carried on in different parts of the province. The first Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Darbhanga under the presidentship of Jagat Guru Swami Bharti Krishan Tirtha

jee who had been recently released from the Hazaribagh Central Jail. The Session was a complete success, and after the Session Shankracharyajee and Babu Jagatnarain Lal made a prolonged tour throughout the Province. The Hindu Sabha Movement thus received a great impetus in the Province and Hindu Sabhas were established in large numbers. A band of wholetime workers for almost every district was appointed in the Province and in each of the districts like Palamun and Purnea, etc. from 50 to 100 Sabhas were established. A special Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Sonepur Mela under the presidentship of Swami Sayanandjee of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. The next Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Muzaffarpur under the presidentship of Punjab Kesari, Lala Lajpat Raiji in 1925, amid scenes of unparallel enthusiasm.

The third Session was held at Chapra in 1926 under the presidentship of Pandit Malaviyaji amid a large and distinguished gathering and was a tremendous success. The 4th Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Bhagalpur in 1927 under the presidentship of Shri Bhai Parmanandji and was a great success. The 5th Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held most successfully at Purnea under the presidentship of Shriman Dr. B. S. Moonjee in 1929.

The 6th Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Patna in Patna City under the presidentship of Shri Bhai Parmanandji.

The 7th Session of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Patna in the Hindu Sabha Building, Bankipore under the presidentship of Syt. Kumar Ganganand Singhji M. A., M. L. C.

The Removal of Untouchability Conferences, Suddhi Conferences and other conference were also held along with these conferences. Several Hindu Orphanages and Hindu Widows' Homes were established at Patna, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Gaya, Katihar, Kanchi and other places in the wake of the Hindu Sabha Movement in this province and thousands of widows and orphans have been protected since then and a large number of cases were fought for rescuing and protecting widows and orphans from time to time.

The Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha has fought many a battle from time to time in political, social and religious fields for the protection of the rights and interests of the Hindus in these spheres.

During the great earthquake in Bihar, the Hiudu Sabha Bihar Relief Committee rendered great service both to human life and shelterless cows at Patna, Monghyr, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, etc. An important department of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha is the

Bihar Gosewa Mandal which protects old cows at the great Sonepur fair and other fairs from the hands of the butchers, and take old cows from the Goshalas and settle them in the large pasture lands placed at its disposal by Sriman Prince Ram Raja Sahib, Proprietor of Ram Nagar Raj and the son-in-law of Maharaja Nepal.

The Shuddhi and Untouchable departments of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha were also working actively for several years in various parts of the Province. Deshratna B. Rajendra Prasadjee and the Hon'ble Babu Krishna Singh, the present Prime Minister of Bihar, were also associated with this movement till the period when they parted company on account of the conflict between the Hindusabha and the Congress at the Assembly elections.

The work for the protection of the aboriginal Hindu tribes was carried on in different parts of Chhotanagpur and Ranchi, etc. till the Sharddhanand Mission was established here on behalf of the All India Shraddhanand Mission.

Shri Kumar Ganganand Singh of Darbhanga is at present the President and Pandit Bharat Misra the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES
(MAHARATTI)

Established in 1923.

The Hindu Sabha was started at Nagpur for the first time in November 1923. In those days when there was a loud talk of Hindu-Muslim Unity, a dispute arose over the question of music before mosques in a corner of Nagpur in connection with Ganesh procession. Soon after a Hindu-Muslim clash occurred in Koshtipura, which opened the eyes of the Hindus. They met together in Tulsi Bagh and a representative Hindu Sabha was formed, which undertook a triple task to perform. On one hand the Sabha made arrangements to fight out the cases for the Hindus in law courts and on the other, it carried on negotiations with the Muslim leaders with a view to affect an honourable compromise; while thirdly, the Sabha tried to organise the Hindu Community internally to be prepared to face any eventuality.

In 1927 terrible Hindu-Muslim riots broke out which were severe at Arvi, in Wardha District. Twenty-four Hindus were prosecuted as a result of the

than 250 boys are now enjoying the shelter of the Griha. Before a few years the institution constructed a building of its own for hostel and school purposes. The High School started by ths Griha is recognised by the Government. The Griha is run mostly with the help of the workers of the Hindu Sabha.

Some enthusiastic youths of Nagpur including Mr. H N. Gokhale, the Joint Secretary of the Marathi C. P. Hindu Sabha have started Arya Yuvak Sangha to push on the Shuddhi Movement. This institution also has its various branches in Buldi and the City.

Mr. Machwe who is incharge of the Shuddhi Vibhag of the Hindu Sabha has started Vidhwa Vivah Mandal. Another Mandal run by Mr. Paranjpe is also working well.

The Hindu Girls' High School has now developed into a flourishing High School and the starting of a College is being contemplated. For fifteen years continuously Dr. Paranjpe, Vice-President of the Hindu Sabha, was the Chairman of the School Committee.

The C. P. Hindu Sabha Election Board was established in 1937 to contest the elections for the Provincial Legislative Assembly. From C. P., Marathi and Hindi, the Board set up about 35 candidates. An election manifesto was issued and propaganda was done through the press and platform. But as all this

had to be done within the short period of a month the Board could not secure satisfactory results.

The Hindu Sabha fully supported the Hindu cause in Patanswangi trouble. The place is about 16 miles from Nagpur. Here the trouble as regards the right of Hindus to play music before mosques at certain times was created by the Mohamedans. Fifteen Hindus were prosecuted under section 107 but the struggle continued undauntedly. At last on 27th August, the Government was compelled to withdraw the police and allow a huge procession of the Hindus to pass before the mosque, music being played unceasingly. Afterwards the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur issued an order admitting the right of the Hindus to take their procession by any route and at any time, playing music continuously.

Several District, Tahsil, Nagar, Village or Circle branches of the Provincial Hindu Sabha have been started by doing a lot of propaganda work.

Shrimant M. G. Chitnavis, M. L. A. is at present the President and Shri Jagannath Prasad Verma is the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

BOMBAY

Established in 1924.

The Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha was organised by Raja Narain Pitty in 1924. The first Provincial Conference was held in Bombay in the same year and was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. M. R. Jaykar was elected as the President of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

The Provincial Hindu Sabha organised another Conference in 1928 which was presided over by Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar of Poona. The Sabha has been carrying out the objects of the All India Hindu Mahasabha. It has rendered great assistance to the Shrddhanand Anath Mehla Ashram started by the Hindu Women Rescue Home Society. The report of the Ashram shows a marvellous service done by the Hindu Sabha for preservation of a large number of Hindu women and children.

Another Provincial Conference took place in Bombay in 1934 under the presidentship of Dr. B. S. Moonje.

The Bombay Provincial Hindu Shabha possessed a number of ward and suburban Hindu Sabhas and the whole of Bombay constituted a separate Provincial branch. All these branches were functioning well at a time but later on deterioration set in at the Centre and in some of the branches. In the meanwhile Muslim aggression began to assume more and more menacing and systematic aspect in Bombay. Once again the growing aggression and inroads of the Muslims on the majority community helped the Hindus to develop Hindu consciousness.

The young representatives of the Dadar Hindu Sabha, who had gone to Poona to attend the Session of the Hindu Mahasabha, returned fired with new enthusiasm and inspiration and at once yoked themselves to the Mahasabha work. Encouraged by the pillars of the Hindu cause like Dr. Purandarey and guided by Dr. Savarkar, the Hindu Sabha Movement soon gathered force in the Dadar area. Hundreds of members were enrolled and an elaborate line of work was chalked out. The following are some of the important items :—

(1) There used to be the monoply of Mohamedan Pinjaris. It was impossible to find out Hindu Pinjaris in Bombay. Young and promising Hindus were trained, who readily picked up this line and very soon the Sabha was in a position to supply Hindu Pinjaris not only for Bombay but for the Mofussil also.

(2) The Dadar Hindu Sabha revived the collective mass prayer system among the Hindus, which was almost extinct for a pretty long time.

(3) The Dadar Hindu Sabha was successful in creating an initiative among the Hindus to patronise Hindu shopkeepers and hawkers in preference to those of other communities.

(4) The Sabha created an awakening among the Hindu public by arranging lectures and sermons of Shri Shankaracharya Dr. Kurtakoti, Shri Sant Panchlegaonkar Maharaj, Dharmavir Dr. Moonje and other Hindu leaders of note.

(5) The Hindu Sabha arranged a number of Katha-Saptahas (weeks) with a view to impress on the Hindu public the imperative need of Hindu Sangathan and the proper means of achieving the same.

(6) A big function was held in honour of Shri Kashatra Jagat Guru and strong support was lent to the Raja Bill.

(7) A mass representation with thousands of signatures was sent to the Govt. demanding immediate release of Swatantrya Vir Savarkar.

(8) The Silver Jubilee of His Majesty, the King of Nepal, the only independent Sovereign Hindu State, was celebrated with great eclat.

(9) Mischievous acts of the Faqir of Ippi were strongly condemned by the Sabha.

(10) Active support was lent to the Sonya Maruti Satyagraha at Poona by sending volunteers and office-bearers to participate in it. Dr. Savàrkar was arrested and sentenced in this connection.

(11) The Byculla Maruti Affair. The Sabha took leading part in organising a united Hindu front to fight out the just cause of the Hindus against Muslims. A petition with 50,000 signatures was forwarded to the Govt. out of which Dadar alone secured 10,000 signatures within three days.

(12) This affair caused the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1936. Immediately a representative meeting of the prominent Hindu citizens was called and the Hindu Defence Committee (Hindu Sanrakshak Mandal) was formed to give relief to the Hindu sufferers. Hindu forces were combined and their defensive power was demonstrated by successfully combating Muslim onslaughts.

(13) Notable service was rendered by the volunteers of the Sabha. Among other things, the posting of volunteers at the city and suburban railway stations to warn, guide and protect the passengers from outside stations deserves mention. Thus the prolonged fight was kept up and carried on for three

months and then brought to a successful termination. The Sabha Mandap of the Byculla Maruti was completed, the 'Vastu Shanti' ceremony was performed with full religious pomp and the Muslim 'goondaism' was completely crushed. Peace was again restored in Bombay.

(14) The Sabha took great pains to increase the members of the Hindu Mahasabha by thousands. Twenty-five hundred members were enrolled within one month. Naturally to-day Dadar has become a Hindu strong-hold in Bombay, the credit for which goes to the Sangathanist Hindu leaders, selfless workers, volunteers and the Sangathan-loving Hindu public of Dadar.

Shri Seth L. R. Tairsee is at present the President and Shri M. N. Talpade Advacate, Dr. Udgaonkar and Pandit Vijaya Shankarji are the Secretaries of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

MAHARASHTRA

Established in 1924.

In 1924 on the 10th of January a branch of the Hindu Mahasabha was opened at Poona. Since its inception the Poona Branch has been gathering strength and influence. So far more than sixty branches have been started all over Maharashtra. To give impetus to the work already begun by the Poona Branch, a tour programme of Dr. B. S. Moonje was arranged in 1927. The dignified personality, and thundering declarations of Dr. Moonje made the whole atmosphere in Maharashtra vibrating with Hindutva. People were roused from their slumbers. Dr. Moonje visited in his tours Poona, Satara, Nagar, Belgaum, Nasik, Sholapur and other principal and notable cities and towns and also toured over the Southern Maratha States.

In 1933 Bhai Parmanand and Dr. Moonje with Mr. R. G. Bhide and R. S. Rajawade and in 1935 Messrs. R. G. Bhide and R. S. Rajawade went on lecturing tours and carried the message of the Mahasabha to every corner of Maharashtra. The Session of the All

India Hiudu Mahasabha was held in Poona in 1935 which was a unique and grand success. The Session helped to remove perverse ideas of some sceptics about the aims and ideals of the Hindu Mahasabha. Maharashtra has since then risen up to share its quota in the All India Movement of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Though the branch of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was opened at Poona in 1924, Maharashtra was practically doing the work of the Sabha from 1920. The 1st Maharashtra Hindu Dharma Conference was held in 1920 at Nasik under the presidentship of His Holiness Shri Shankaracharya, Dr. Kurtkoti. Uptil now seven Provincial Conferences were held; the last one was held at Kolhapur in 1937 under the presidentship of Dr. B. S Moonje.

Maharashtra has done appreciable work in the field of Shuddhi. In the first three years of the establishment of the Poona Branch more than 100 converts were again brought back into the Hindufold. The Masurashrama is the pioneer in this field and it has rendered splendid work. Its Shuddhi work in Goa is above estimation. About 6000 Gavadas were reconverted 'en masse'. The Dharma Samrakshaka Sangh of West Khandesh is also performing feats in this work. Its propaganda and movements among the Bhills in Satpuda hills have evoked admiration from all. The Bhills are taught to lead pure and simple life. They

were completely addicted to drink; but by the systematic propaganda by Rajaram Maharaj, head of the Sangh, they are almost cured of that evil. As the whole community has now become conscious and self-asserting the mischievous activities of the Muslim propagandists do not make effect on their minds. H. H. Shri Kshatra Jagadguru Maharaj of Kolhapur is doing very splendid work in this field.

Besides tours and lectures, the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha is publishing literature on the work and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha. Such publications prove useful to make every Hindu self-conscious and intelligent and to answer the anti-propaganda of co-religionists and anti-religionists. Its first publication was a booklet written by Mr. D. N. Shikhare on 'Hinduism—the Supreme Religion'. It vividly described the greatness of Hindu Dharma by comparing it with the other world religions. The Sabha published in 1935 a book 'Hindu Samaj Darshan' edited by Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar. Its latest publication is a pamphlet—'Hindu Mahasabha, the only National Body' written by Mr. R. G. Bhide, the General Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha.

As is proverbially known, Maharashtra is a poor tract of land. Big sums over crores may not be collected; but still Maharashtra does not lag behind in materially contributing to the nation-building

activities and to national movements. The Maharashtra Hindu Sabha donated Rs. 1500/- to the Kashmir Relief Fund, Rs. 6500/- to the Bihar Relief Fund and collected about Rs. 12000 for the Annual Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha which met at Poona in 1935. Quite recently Rs. 4000/- were collected to help the Hindu sufferers in Hyderabad State.

The Sonya Maruti Satyagraha in Poona started under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha was unique from many points of view. The most important and notable aspect of that Satyagraha was that it was for the first time in the living memory of Hindus that the Hindus as Hindus launched a movement of Satyagraha in defence of their religious rights—the rights of worship and playing of music. The Hindus without any distinction of caste or creed rallied round and offered Satyagraha, Thousands of Hindus of all ranks participated in the movement. The Maharashtra Hindu Sabha with the support of the Varnashram Swarajya Sangh and the Democratic Swarajya Party systematically carried on the movement. The Satyagraha movement spelled advantageous to the Hindus in the work of Sanghatan.

The condition of Hindus in the Hyderabad State is worsened to the limit. The people in the State are deprived even of the elementary rights of citizenship. Liberty of speech, association, meeting, etc. is denied

to them. Somewhere this repression must be checked and counteracted and with this view alone the people in and outside the State finally decided to start the movement of Satyagraha against the tyranny and despotism of the Nizam. The Hindutva Nishta Satyagraha Mandal was established in Poona under the presidentship of Mr. G. V. Ketkar. It was arranged to send volunteers by batches in the territories of the Nizam to offer Satyagraha. The Hindus are prepared to conduct the fight till their demands are satisfactorily fulfilled. Maharashtra with greater affinities has exposed the cause of Hyderabad Hindus and is supporting the struggle with men, money and kind. The Maharashtra Hindu Sabha has sufficiently financed the movement.

The Maharashtra Hindu Sabha is thus endeavouring to popularise the creed and programme of the Hindu Maha Sabha in Maharashtra. Mr. R. G. Bhide, the Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, is the very life-breath of the Hindu Sabha Movement in Maharashtra. Periodical lectures are delivered by workers, occasional tours of notable leaders are arranged and district conferences are held with a view to make the Maha Sabha Movement reach the last layer of the Hindu Community. Many people in cities, towns and villages are spontaneously enrolling their names as members of the Hindu Mahasabha. The

number of members has risen up to 20000. Town, City, Taluka and District Hindu Sabha Committees are appointed and they are mustering strong day by day. The future looks pregnant with encouraging results.

Shri L. B. Bhopatkar is at present the President and Shri R. G. Bhide, the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

RATNAGIRI

This part of Maharashtra was too orthodox to hear even the talk of the removal of untouchability, and yet the able leadership of Swantantryaveer V. D. Savarkar made the untouchability, in almost all the parts of the district, a thing of the past. The people do not recognise the difference between touchability and untouchability, so much so that even Akhil Hindu Upahar Grihas (Restaurants for Hindus) have come into existence and the "Asprishyas" are called "Purvasprishyas" (Ex-Harijans).

The same is the case with Shuddhi also. The Sanatani Hindu opinion was deadly against this new move, and yet slowly but surely Barrister Savarkar with his masterly argumentation and a band of devoted workers, changed the mentality of the majority of the people

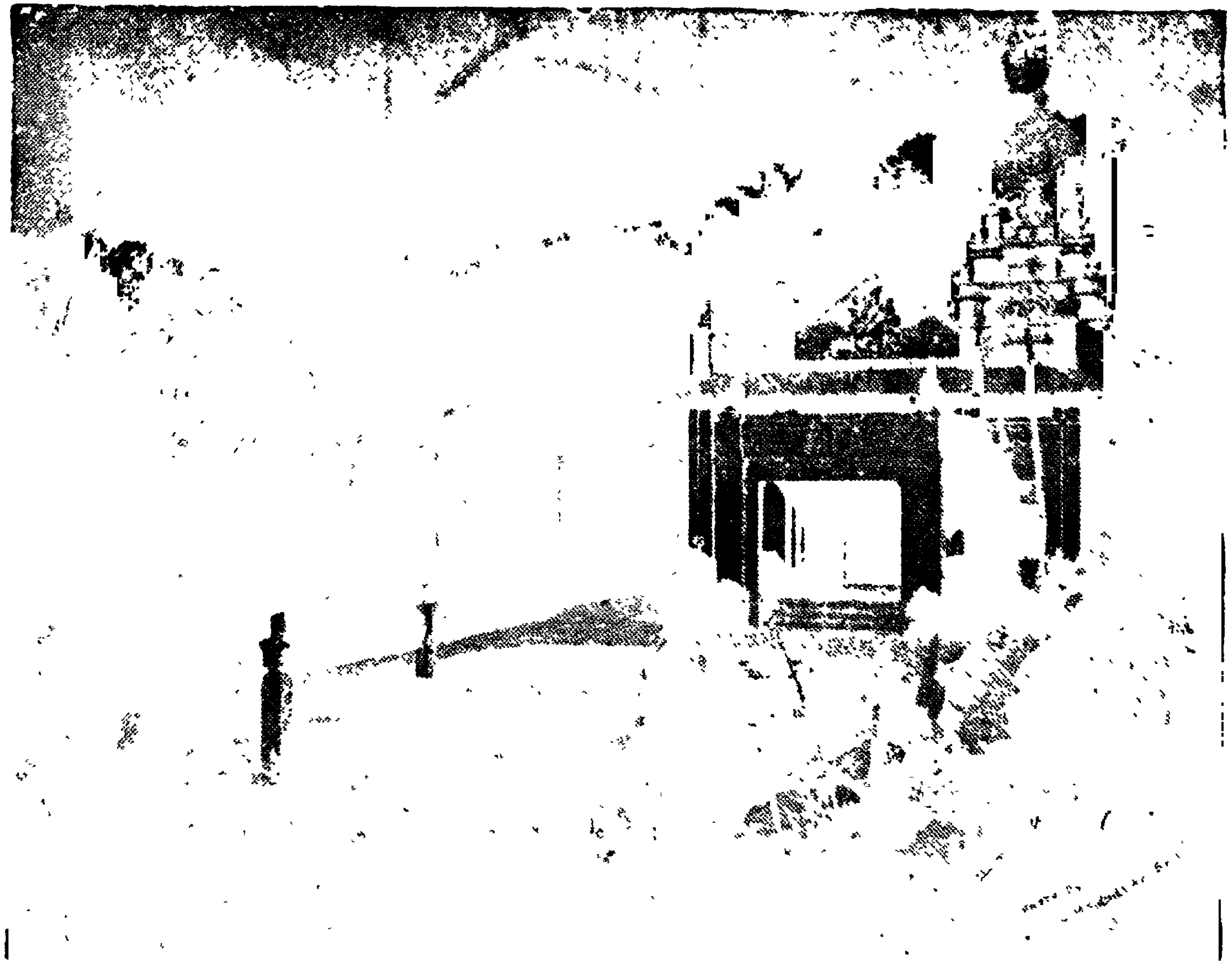
and made the Shuddhi of about 350 and odd persons who were freely admitted to the Hindu Society, and in this work the prominent members of the Hindu Sabha worked with Veer Savarkar and made the mission successful.

The Hindus of Hindusthan had altogether forgotten that 'Nepal forms an integral and indivisible part of our country and that the Nepalese are our own kith and kin.' But the movement of the Hindu Sabha made the Hindu mind realise the oneness of Nepal Hindus with the Bharateeya Hindus. The Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha was the first and foremost one amongst those of the other places in Hindusthan to back up the move mentioned above.

The Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha was also the first and foremost institution not only to improve the Nagri Lipi and make it easier for printing, typing, etc. than even the English one, but to bring it in practice to a great deal by making men use it in their daily work and thus it brought about its improvement in actual, practical field. The same is the case with Bhasha Shuddhi also. In all our Bharteeya sister languages many words from foreign tongues, like English, Arabic, Persian, etc. have crept in. The spirit of eradicating those foreign words from the mother-tongues and thus making them pure, was created by the Sabha under the able guidance of Barrister Savarkar.



Shrimant Bhagiji Baloji Sheth
Ratnagiri



Shri Patitpawan Akhil Hindu Mandir
Ratnagiri

In the last 12 or 14 years the Hindus there were taught to fight out tha aggressions of the Christians and specially of Moslems. The question of music before mosques was fought out favourably by the Hindus in Ratnagiri, Kharepatan, Shirgaon, etc. Cases were fought in courts and the riotous acts of the Moslems were duly paid in the same coin by the Hindus, who protected their own legitimate rights. So also the Hindus ably fought against the subtle aggression of the Christian missionaries, and at many places they had to wind up their schools and instead of increasing their activities of proselitisation, they were at a loss to keep up their own normal position even. And this became possible only by the movement of Shuddhi and removal of the ban of Rotibandi—taking food from other castes, etc. The idea of losing Jati at the hands of others, was given a rude shock and is now almost destroyed.

Shree Patit Pawan Mandir, meant for all Hindus including the untouchables, is not only proclaiming the praise-worthy generosity of Shrimant Bhagojee Seth Keer but the spirit of Pan-Hindutva throughout the country. Conceding to the request of the Hindu Sabha, Shrimant Bhagoji Seth built the Mandir worth Rs. 250000/-. The unique feature of this Mandir, the like of which cannot yet be seen in the whole of Hindusthan, is that every-one from the

lowest of the low (the so-called untouchables) upto the highest of the high (the Brahmins), every Hindu of whatever gradation of the Hindu Society comes there, forgetting all the differences of castes and the like under the Hindu Dhwaja and performs the Puja, Bhajan, Darshan, and Vedapathan jointly. In the premises of the Mandir, untouchables, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, all live there as neighbours and draw water from the same well. Thus a divided Hindu, from the moment he enters the Mandir, becomes one with all other Hindus and transcends all the differences of castes, etc.

Owing to the persistent efforts of the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha, a Vyayamshala was established by the Municipality where training is given in the use of lathis, swords, spears, etc.

Within the period of 4 years the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha has saved not less than 10 lacs of rupees from going to foreign countries by infusing the spirit of Swadeshi. At present Swadeshi cloth is being consumed by 92%, soap by 95%, glass by 50% and Swadeshi sugar bags about 1500 in odd, as against previous figures, viz. cloth by 40%, Swadeshi soap, paper and glass by 2% and Swadeshi sugar only 2 bags.

The Akhanda (continuous, without break) Bhajan for 7 days and 7 nights makes one Saptaha. Such Saptahas were observed in the Vaidic God-Temple, the Patitpawan Shree Vishnu Mandir, by all the

Hindus—Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras and the Purvaspriyas to-gether with complete equality. Such scenes of complete eradication of the Jat-pat (castes) will seldom be seen anywhere in our country as are seen in the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha's Shree Patitpawan Mandir.

Each year the celebration of Shree Ganesh is a very prominent feature of Maharashtryia Hindus. That Utsava continues for 10 days. In this Patitpawan Mandir every Hindu without any distinction can and does take part. Keertan by Bhangis, Geetapath by Chamars, the carrying of the palaki (Palanquin) by Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Shudras, Harijans, etc. together, dining in the same row, including men and women by thousands of all sections of the Hindus, such as Sikhs, Jains, Aryasamajists, Gorakhas, etc. are some of the chief features of programme in the Temple.

Two hundred performances of dining to-gether (Seh Bhojas) in the same row by all Hindus were performed in Ratnagiri and thus the caste consciousness is nearly annihilated there.

BERAR

Established in 1924.

The Berar Provincial Hindu Sabha owes its origin to the Muslim troubles. It came into existence in the communal tension of 1924 regarding the immersion procession of Ganpati. The fight put up by the Sabha not only brought a successful conclusion of the trouble, but also made the Sabha itself a living organisation. After this it extended its hands to various items which strengthened the Hindu Sanghatan Movement. With this object the Hindu Sabha made efforts to stop drainage of untouchable Hindus to other religions, and by inducing the orthodox section of the upper classes, undertook the reconversion-work against strong opposition. It was reported that lower class Hindus of Mangrul, Hiwarkhed and Digras, being harassed by the upper class ones in respect of drawing water from public wells and some other social customs, had decided to embrace Islam to avoid social inequality. The Hindu Sabha members at once hurried to these places and by mutual understanding saved these 1000 souls. In order to eradicate untouchability, the Provincial Hindu Sabha wrote to all the District Councils and the

Municipalities in the province to keep open all public wells and schools for the untouchables and thanks to the spirit of co-operation of these local bodies, resolutions were passed by them to that effect. Through the efforts of the Hindu Sabha many temples in big towns were thrown open to the untouchables. A number of lecture-tours was arranged throughout the province to preach on the evils of untouchability. A Boarding House for the untouchables was opened and financed by the Provincial Sabha. The Sabha also tried and successfully sent an untouchable member to the Municipality by a majority of touchable Hindu votes, defeating the upper class Hindu candidate. By this time Dr. Ambedkar, the well-known leader of the depressed classes had declared to renounce Hinduism. At this declaration, the Muslims were overjoyed and wanted to convert him. Maulana Shaukat Ali was after him and both of them had come to Paturda, a village near Shegaon in Berar, where it was intended to convert about 5000 untouchables to Islam. But this plan was frustrated, thanks to the efforts of the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Sabha. Only 11 persons out of 5000 accepted Islam—to renounce it after 3 months through the efforts of the latter institution.

Cow protection was also taken in hand. At the instance of the Provincial Hindu Sabha, the Municipalities like Murtazapur, Wun, Arvi, etc. passed resolutions

prohibiting the slaughter of milky and pregnant animals and all cows and calves within their limits.

Another sphere of the activity of the Provincial Hindu Sabha was the opening of an Orphanage. Besides this, in order to save the Hindu widows and orphans from going over to the Muslims, it was decided also to start 'Vidhwa Ashram and Vidhwa Viwah Samstha'. There were certain cases in which Hindu women kidnapped by the Muslims were recovered through the civil courts. The Hindu community is always reluctant to take back such persons and absorb them. The Hindu Mahasabha has to be on its alert against such desertions of Hindu women, and it is satisfying to note that the Provincial Hindu Sabha with all its branches is trying its best to retain these renegades within its fold.

To cultivate the spirit of resistance the Sabha gave an inpetus to the starting of Akharas in all the towns of Berar where Hindu youths are getting physical training. The Sabha also tried and succeeded to some extent in dispelling the false notions entertained by some Hindus regarding 'Pir-worship' and pilgrimage to 'Shadal Boa', etc. The Provincial Sabha arranged lectures and distributed handbills to dissuade Hindus from taking part in the Moharram festival with religious fervour. The result is that now 90% of the Hindus keep quite aloof.

The Provincial Sabha also undertook to 'Shuddhi' or Reconversion. There were certain villages in the Melghat and by its border which were completely baptised by the Christian missionaries. The Sabha sent lecturers there and thousands of these souls were reclaimed.

The Berar Provincial Hindu Sabha invited the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha and its Session was held at Akola in 1929 under the Presidentship of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya. Side by side with this Session other Conferences, viz., Hindu Youth League, Hindu Sanghatan Parishad and Shuddhi Parishad were also held. In 1930, the All India Session of the Maha Sabha was to be held in Andhra, but at the instance of Dr. Monjee the Berar Provincial Hindu Sabha again invited it. All the arrangements were nearly complete but the Working Committee of the Mahasabha postponed the Session, which was afterwards held at Salem. A Joint Session of the Berar and C. P. Sabha was called in 1937 at Akola under the Presidentship of Vir V. D. Savarkar and a resolution was passed, aiming at 'Complete Independence' as the ultimate goal of the Hindu aspirations.

Shri P. C. Jogalekar is at present the President and Shri G. K. Chitalay the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

BENGAL

Established in 1924.

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has at present about 170 branches under it including the Sylhet District in the Assam province, which is affiliated with the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha. Every district and sub-divisional town has got a branch Sabha beside many of the important villages of the province. The branch Sabhas have been re-organised during the year 1938 and most of the branches have been thoroughly overhauled with new office-bearers. The branches are now actively carrying out the programme of the Hindu Mahasabha and have been imbued with a new life.

It is difficult to exactly state the number of members of the Hindu Sabha branches. New membership receipt books have been printed and distributed to branch Sabhas for enrolment of members. There is a great deal of enthusiasm for the Hindu Sabha Movement in this province and according to moderate estimate at least ten thousand members have in all been enrolled. The work is proceeding steadily and it is hoped that in next six months a hundred thousand members will have been enlisted.

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha observed the Anti-Communal Award Day on the 18th of August last in a befitting manner throughout the province. In Calcutta proper three public meetings were held on that day which were addressed by influential Hindu leaders. Besides towns like Rajshahi, Pabna, Natore, Maldah, Sirajgunge, Bogra, Kurigram, Gaibandha, Nilphamari, Jalpaiguri, Dacca, Comilla, Noakhali, Manikgunj, Kishoreganj, Burdwan and other places observed the Day and enthusiastically held public demonstrations.

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha took prompt steps when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of the Congress publicly offered Mr. Jinnah to accept the terms of the Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Agreement. The Executive Committee of the Sabha issued a statement denouncing the proposed Agreement and subsequently a protest meeting was held at the Albert Hall presided over by Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee. Besides 15 other districts held public meetings strongly condemning the Agreement.

The position of the Hindus has been further complicated by adoption by the Bengal Legislative Assembly of a resolution reserving 60% of all recruitment of public services for the Moslems, 20% for the scheduled castes and 20% for the rest. The Congress members who remained neutral on the resolution and the state-

ment of the Congress Assembly leader, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose on the subject practically lending his support to the infamous resolution have been seriously criticised throughout the province. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha convened a public meeting at the Albert Hall presided over by Mr. S. K. Roy Chowdhury, ex-Mayor of Calcutta in which the attitude of the Congress members was strongly condemned. Besides almost all the districts and sub-divisional Hindu Sabhas denounced the resolution and the statement of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

The Sabha maintains two preachers who tour in the districts, propagating the message of the Hindu Sabha and keep in touch with the branches with a view to help them to carry out the constructive work of the Sabha. The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has a clearly defined constructive programme which aims at welding the different castes and communities into a component whole by pursuing a programme such as removal of untouchability, abolition of child marriage and dowry systems, amelioration of the condition of the Hindu widows, protection of women, widow-remarriage, uplift of the backward classes, organisation of Sarbajanin Pujas for the benefit of Hindus of all castes, establishment of Akharas, Clubs and Gymnasiums for the physical regeneration of the Hindu youths and similar other social uplift works. The

programme is very popular among the backward classes and the Sabha has a solid backing of these classes.

During the year 1938 our preachers visited most of the districts and sub-divisional towns in the province, particularly in the North and Eastern Bengal and reorganised branch Sabhas in these places and addressed public meetings. They visited Khulna, Barisal, Chandpur, Comilla, Sylhet, Karimgunge, Habigunge, Moulvibazar, Hailakandi, Netrakona, Kishoregunj, Mymensingh, Sirajgunj, Pabna, Natore, Naogaon, Rajshahi, Bogra, Sherpur, Rungpur, Kurigram, Gaibandha, Balurghat, Dinajpur, Saidpur, Dooars, Jalpaiguri, Maldah, Assansole, Ranigunge, Burdwan, and other important towns.

The Hindu Sabha Movement was initiated in Bengal by the late Sj. Piyush Kanti Ghosh, of the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika', in the year 1924 following the Saharanpur riot in U. P. The terrible communal riot of Calcutta of 1926 lent a great impetus to the movement which gained added momentum as further communal riots broke out in different places in the province in the succeeding years. The Pabna riot, the Kishoreganj riot, the Dacca riot and the Chittagong riot sent a thrill of horror amongst the Hindu community, served to open their eyes about their own defenceless position against the Moslem aggression and immensely strengthened the Hindu Sabha Movement.

In 1925 the All India Hindu Mahasbha Session was held in Calcutta which was presided over by late Lala Lajpat Rai, the Lion of the Punjab. The first session of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Sirajgunge which was presided over by Babu Sasadhar Roy, Advocate, Calcutta High Court and attended by Swami Shraddhananda of revered memory. The second session was held at Calcutta under the presidentship of Sj. Hirendra Nath Dutt, M. A., B. L., Solicitor, the third session was held at Mymensingh under the presidentship of Mahamahopadhyaya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan, the fourth at Dacca under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Maharashtra, the fifth at Burdwan under the presidentship of Maharaja Srish Chandra Nandi of Kasimbazar and the sixth session of the Conference was held at Maldah under the presidentship of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee.

Shri Bhai Parmanandji also presided over a special Provincial Hindu Conference in Calcutta in 1934.

Shri Rai Satindra Nath Chowdhuri is at present the President and Shri Ashutosh Lahiri, the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

SINDH

Established in 1926.

The Sindh Provincial Hindu Sabha was founded in 1926, when a Provincial Hindu Conference was organized here under the presidentship of the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Jai Ram Dault Ram was a prominent leader of the Hindus in those days.

The Provincial Sindh Hindu Sabha has the following District Hindu Sabhas as its branches :—

Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Nawabshah, Ratodpero, (Larkana), Shikarpur and Shahdadkot.

Soon after the introduction of Reforms of 1935 in India the Provincial Autonomy was set up. The Provincial Hindu Sabha contested the seats in the Assembly against the Congress, set up their own candidates and succeeded in securing 11 seats out of 18. It is a matter of congratulation that the Hindu members in the Assembly are working in a team under a leader of their own choice, who is also one of the three ministers of the present Government. After a year the first reactionary and communal ministry was succeeded by a less communal ministry with the support of Hindus.

The policy of the Government in Sindh regarding the important cadres of services is not based on merit but on communal considerations against which the Hindu Sabha has appealed and protested to the authorities concerned from time to time. In October 1937 a Hindu Conference was held at Karachi under the Presidentship of Bhai Parmanand, M. L. A., a veteran Hindu leader of All India Hindu fame, where representatives from all parts of Sindh assembled. Several resolutions were passed, such as the passing of the discriminatory bills and the appointments of important cadres in Sindh on communal basis. The other resolutions were on Sangathan of Hindus, on Shuddhi, etc.

The Hindus in mofussils are usually the victims of Police oppressions and of Mohamedan dacoits and robbers. They usually look up to the Hindu Sabha for the redress of their grievances. A few instances are quoted here :—

1. The Hindus in a village of Hyderabad district were oppressed by the Police and they approached the Hindu Sabha. The Secretary approached the authorities and convinced them of the genuineness of the complaint with the result that the offending officer was immediately removed.

2. In another case, a property of some Hindus worth about Rs. 3000/- was stolen by some Mnslims

and the Police did not take notice of the complaint. The Secretary on being approached by these poor people took up their cause with the result that steps were taken and the stolen property was recovered to a great extent.

3. A boy of two and a half years was kidnapped and was subsequently secured with the help of the Hindu Sabha.

4. A girl of 10 years was recovered a few years back from the possession of Mohamedans by the Hindu Sabha and kept in a safe custody with a Hindu family. She was married to her own caste-man only about 4 months back.

5. Public holidays, such as Krishna Ashtmi, Ramanavami and Gita-Jayanti, are observed by the Hindu Sabha to infuse enthusism among the Hindus of all sections and to bring them under one banner. On these occasions processions are taken out and meetings are organized.

6. Ramanavami was declared as a sectional holiday in Sindh at the request of Sindh Hindu Sabha on behalf of the Hindus.

7. To carry the message of Hindu Sabha outside the big cities, Pandit Rameshwar Swami was sent out to carry on the propaganda for about 2 months.

8. Two persons living in Hyderabad having no

relatives died and their cremation ceremony was performed by the Hindu Sabha.

9. One woman disappeared from Hyderabad and was traced in Shikarpur with the help of Hindu Sahba.

A wave of joy spread throughout Sindh, in August last, when the Sindh Hindus were informed that their veteran leader and President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Vir V.D. Savarkar had agreed to visit Sindh. En-route to Hyderabad on 1st September thousands of people went to welcome and to pay their homage to him on intervening stations. At Hyderabad, his first halting place in Sindh, he had a heavy programme to go through. Inspite of his short stay he visited the big cities of Sindh such as Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur and Nawabshah. Wherever he went he had the grandest receptions. Processions were organized wherever he went and public and Municipal addresses were presented to him. Huge meetings were held where all people, councillors, merchants, teachers and others were present. Vir Savarkar in his speeches assured Sindh Hindus of their great and glorious future that yet awaits the Hindu Nation. Thousands of people paid their homage to him wherever he went to spread the messege of Hindu Sabha. Several 'At Homes' were given in his honour. In fact he had an ovation of which the Sindh Hindus can feel proud. During his

short stay in Sindh a Conference was held at Sukkar on 7th and 8th of September under his presidentship where people from all parts of Sindh came. It was a very successful Conference. In fact the Hindu Community was electrified by his speeches. The necessity of such frequent visits is felt by the Sindh Hindus as it will continue to keep alive the enthusiasm and love for Hindu Community.

The Head Office of the Provincial Hindu Sabha is now situated at Hyderabad (Sindh). Shri Mukhi Gobindrai Pritamdas. M. L. A. is at present the President and Shri Dharamdas Belaram, the General Secretary.

THE RAJASTHAN

Established in 1927.

The Rajasthan (Rajputana) Provincial Hindu Sabha was founded in 1927. A large number of Hindus have joined its membership. There are about 20 branches of the Provincial Hindu Sabha. The Rajasthan Provincial Sabha has so far organised 12 sessions. The Rajasthan Provincial Hindu Sabha has been taking keen interest in the uplift of the Depressed Classes and in Shuddhi and Sangathan. Its activities include the celebration of the lives of Hindu Heroes, and the propagation of Hindi language. The Sabha has also organised a 'Swayam Sewak Dal.' In 1933, the Provincial Hindu Sabha invited the 15th Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha at Ajmer, which was presided over by Shri Bhai Parmanandji.

Kunwar Chand Karan Shardha is at present the President and Babu Durga Prasad, the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

GUJARAT

Established in 1927.

The Gujarat Provincial Hindu Sabha was established on the 2nd Oct. 1927. In our province before that date the Bombay Presidency Hindu Sabha had opened working centres at Baroda, Anand, Ahmedabad, Ankleswar, Surat and Bulsar. All the centres were working hard day and night for the Sangathan, Shuddhi, and uplift of the so-called depressed and the suppressed classes. These centres created a field and a feeling amongst the masses and a nucleus of 250 Hindu Sabha branches arose. Hindus of Gujarat felt themselves awakened and a spirit of co-ordination and unity pervaded.

At that time there were no institutions, where the converted could be kept. Hence the workers opened an Arya Kumar Ashram at Kaulibag Baroda in 1923 for the housing of the converted.

Bhil Ashrams were established at Amrit Pura, Ankleswar and Broachdt. As time passed the workers felt the necessity of sound institutions and hence the atmosphere established the other institutions too. The

Arya Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Baroda, Abla Ashram Baroda, Hindu Mission Ahmedabad, Hindu Mission Surat, Gurukul Maha Vidyalaya Songad Kathiawar, etc.—all these institutions are the sweet fruits of the Sangathan movement and at present are conducted under the control and supervision of the Baroda Arya Kumar Maha Sabha, which is a registered body in Baroda.

We invited the 12th Session of the Hindu Maha Sabha at Surat in 1929 A. D. which was held there under the presidentship of Babu Ramanand Chatterji.

In 1930 the all India political movement was in its full speed. From our province, young and old, everybody joined the movement and thus the Sangathan movement slackened for the time being and till 1935 the Provincial body worked very little. It again began to function in 1937 when we invited the 19th Session of the Hindu Maha Sabha, which was held under the presidentship of Vir Savarkarji at Ahmedabad.

Shri Raja Mukund Lal Pitti is at present the President and Shri B. K. Patwari Advocate, the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

ASSAM

Established 1927

Some work for the interest of the Hindus in general was done in the district of Nowgong by a few Hindu citizens of this town but the tragic end of Swami Shraddhanandji has been an eye-opener to many Hindus here and they at once started a campaign for collection of money to the Shraddhananda Trust Fund in the year 1927. Till this event the Hindus in Assam failed to realise the working of the non-Hindu organisations in Assam which vitally affected the interests of the Hindus. The idea of struggle to protect and promote the common interests of the Hindus arose at that time.

In this very year a local Hindu Sabha was started for the first time adopting the aims and objects of the All India Hindu Mahasabha.

In the following year, i. e. in 1928 the first Provincial Hindu Conference was held in the town of Nowgong under the Presidency of Dr. B. S. Moonje. It was a great success as all influential Hindus irrespective of caste and creed gathered there to hear the message of Dr. Moonje. His Holiness the Adhikar

Goswami of Garamur took a leading part in the affairs and a strong Provincial Committee representing different shades of opinion and interests was formed.

In the year 1929 in the capital of the Ahom Rulers of Assam, i. e. Sibsagar town, the second Hindu Conference was held with grand success under the Presidency of Mahamohopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhusan of Hindu University, Benares.

From 1930 to 1934 no conference could be held due to political agitations; but in December 1935 the third Hindu Conference was held with great eclat under the presidency of Dr. Moonje in the town of Nowgong (Assam). No conference has been held since then but nevertheless the Provincial Hindu Sabha with the kind and active assistance of Srijut Satis Singhji has done immense work in its constructive side.

There has been intense propaganda in the villages of this province popularising the aims and objects of the Hindu Mahasabha, especially among of the ex-tea garden labourers and Hill tribes—chiefly Mikirs, Lalungs and Kacharis. As a result of this propaganda about 3 lacs of tribal people recorded themselves as Hindus in the last Census. An excerpt from the Census Report of 1931 noted below will clearly show the work done by the Hindu Sabha here : "There can be no doubt that the Hindu Sabha achieved a considerable

measure of success and that by its efforts the number of animists was much reduced and the number of the Hindus correspondingly increased. (Vol. 111, pp. 118-189). Several meetings were held in the different centres amongst the untouchables and caste Hindus and they freely joined hands among themselves.

The Sabha could have achieved more but for the fact that the Hill tracts are not allowed to be penetrated freely although the Christian Missionaries have full access to these areas.

Besides, some schools and temples also were established among these backward tribes and the ex-tea garden labourers. It is pleasing to note here that all the schools subsequently have been taken by the Local Board.

During the great flood of 1934 in the district of Nowgong, a Sub-Committee was formed known as the "Hindu Sabha Relief Committee" for the purpose of doing relief work. The Committee distributed amongst the helpless 2500 pieces of clothes and gratuitous relief to the extent of Rs. 3300/-. The Committee helped the villagers in repairing 15 Namghars (places of worship) damaged by the flood, took special care of 200 widows, rescued 7 helpless girls from starvation and shame and took charge of 2 orphan babies who were about to be given to the Christian Missionaries.

357 persons (girls 233, adult females 58, children 34, and youngmen 32) were rescued from the hands of the non-Hindus, mostly Mohammedans, by the Sabha during the period under report. Some of these were restored after good deal of persuasion to their relatives.

44 girls were given in marriage—majority of them among their own castes and a few among others. 8 girls and adult females were sent to Sumitra and Banita Ashrams at Mongher and Hindu Abla Ashram in Bengal. In many cases rescues were done with the help of the courts.

454 persons—girls, adult females, boys and adult males, were reconverted to Hinduism—382 persons from Islam and 72 from Christianity. To encourage the above a Conference was held in December 1935 at Nowgong (Assam) under the Presidency of Babu Jagatnarayan Lall.

9 babies varying from 2 to 10 months have been taken over charge by the Sabha.—7 of whom have been taken over by 7 families and accepted as their own and 2 babies are still in charge of the Sabha.

40 persons have been given medical aid together with fooding and clothing as otherwise they were tempted to embrace Islam.

The Sabha felt keenly, by practically working in the field, the want of an Anath Ashram in the Assam

valley and in the month of February 1936 an Ashram was established in an humble way in the town of Nowgong and it was run till June 1937 when it had to be closed for want of funds: and 9 inmates living in the Ashram have been kept in different places as a temporary measure. The existence of such an institution is a very urgent matter if rescues and Shuddhis are to continue unabated.

Rai Saheb Gopiballav Goswami was deputed by the Sabha to appear as a witness on its behalf before the Assam Franchise Committee at Shillong, and the Lothian Committee at Calcutta.

Rai Bahadur B. C. Goswami and Sjt. Bimola Kanta Bora attended on behalf of the A. P. H. S. the Unity Conference held at Calcutta under the presidency of Pandit Malaviyaji.

The Sabha protested against the atrocities of the Mohammedans committed against the Hindus, sent sympathetic resolutions and also cash contributions to the sufferers of Bhopal, Chunargarh, Chittagong, Dera Ismail Khan and Kashmir.

The Sabha also sent a contribution to the Hindu Sabha Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund and Anti-Malaria Relief Fund in Ceylon through Sreemati Amrit Kaur.

Shri R. B. Brindraban Chandra is at present the General Secretary of the Provincial Hindu Sabha.

THE DECCAN STATES

As in British India, the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha are carried on a large scale in Sangli, Miraj, Kolahpur and in other Deccan States.

So far as Kolahpur is concerned, they have got a Hindu Sabha of their own carrying on activities primarily as regards the removal of untouchability. The late Maharaja of Kolahpur took an active interest in the cause of the removal of untouchability. The present Maharaja and his Prime Minister as well as Shrimat Khshatrya Jagat Guru are also deeply interested in the matter. The Aryasamaj also plays an important part in the removal of untouchability and reconversion. The Kolahpur State has in this respect become a great centre of reconversion and removal of untouchability. Dr. Balkrishna, the Principal of the Rajaram College, Kolahpur is a devoted Aryasamajist and under his guidance much social work is done.

Sangli also plays an important part so far as the Hindu-Muslim question is concerned. The local branch of the Hindu Sabha has got nearly two thousand members and practically Sangli is going to be a strong centre of all the activities of the Hindu Sabha. Miraj also plays its own role in the Hindu

Sabha activities. It is because of the dastardly acts on the part of the Muslims that so many Hindus are taking deep interest in the activities of the Hindu Sabha. At Kolahpur, there is a 'Rescue-home' and the residents of Sangli wish to start a similar institution to deal with the cases of depraved women.

An attempt is made at Sangli to carry on mass contact movement among the Hindus and it is hoped that in the near future the local Hindu Sabha will be able to carry on its activities among all the sects of the Hindu community. A better feature of the Hindu Sabha activities is that Hindu ladies and young educated girls are taking deep interest in the activities of the local Hindu Sabha and if this movement on their part gets deep-rooted it is hoped that this Hindu-Muslim question will disappear in a short time from Sangli.

The Raja Sahib of Sangli is very kind and holds scales even between all communities in the Sangli State and it is because of this attitude on his part that all things are going on smoothly at Sangli even to-day.

THE
COMMUNAL AWARD
AND THE
HINDU MAHASABHA

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

The 'so-called Communal Award' is the direct outcome of 'the Separate Communal Electorates', always demanded and pressed for by the Muslims, supported by the Government and yielded to by the Indian National Congress.

THE ANGLO-MUSLIM ALLIANCE

When the last Reforms were in the making and the British Government were holding Round Table Conference delib ra ions, Mr. Gandhi participated along with others who were specially invited by the Government themselves. As is usual with him, Mr. Gandhi, with his queer notion of Hindu Muslim Unity began to follow the will-o-'-the wisp theory of that unity. Knowing full well that his failure was a foregone conclusion the new Conservative Government of England settled with the Muslim leaders and a friendly alliance was established between them. This alliance was the inevitable outcome of Mr. Gandhi's wrong attitude and mis-handling of the situation.

As a result of this the Premier took upon himself the uncalled for duties of an 'arbitrator' and announced his Decision on August 17, 1932 under the name of

the Communal Award It was supplemented by another announcement some time later.

This Communal Award at once sealed the fate and future of the Hindus of Hindusthan. It was as if a punishment for their patriotic sacrifices done by them for the cause of their motherland. They were made helots in their very home.

THE CUP OF POISON

Writing on the Hindu-Muslim Communalism and condemning both, Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru remarked.........."It is also true that the Communal Award is an utter negation of nationalism and is meant to divide Hindusthan into communal compartments and give strength to disruptive tendencies and thus to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism". Even Dr. Ansari and Mr. Sherwani in a joint statement emphasised the main features of the Communal Award in the following words :—

"Perpetuating and stimulating the cause of dividing Indians, accentuation and extension of communal divisions and creation of fresh communal groups and interests which would shatter all future prospects of communal co-operation, these are the main features of the 'Communal Award'." Later on, Dr. Ansari even went to the length of describing the Communal Award as a 'cup of poison'.

MR. GANDHI SUCCUMBS TO MUSLIMS' PRESSURE

Every leader, to whatever shade of opinion he might belong, emphatically condemned the Award as anti-national and unsatisfactory and a wave of indignation seemed to sweep over the country. But before the Congress could come out with its definite and deliberate decision it was leaked out in certain quarters that Mr. Gandhi was being approached by some of the influential Muslims either to accept the Award or at least not to allow the Congress to gainsay it. Bhai Parmanand came to know of it and he wrote a very strong letter to Mr. Gandhi imploring him therein not to give in under the undue pressure and thereby betray the true feelings of India as a whole. The letter, however, had no effect, and Mr. Gandhi at last yielded to the anti-democratic influences. Hence it was he and he alone who brought round the Congress Working Committee to adopt the neutral attitude of 'neither accepting nor rejecting' the Communal Decision.

HIS FAST RESPONSIBLE FOR 'THE POONA PACT'

While the country had been roused against the sense of injustice done to India by the British Premier in this way, Mr. Gandhi's fast unto death suddenly diverted the attention of the people from

the real issue of doing away with the Award and concentrated it only to save his life with the object of getting joint elections of Depressed classes and the caste Hindus. This move on the part of Mr. Gandhi which ultimately resulted in the formation of 'the Poona Pact' added to the misfortunes of the Hindus whose interests were sacrificed for good to save Mr. Gandhi's life. The terms dictated by Dr. Ambedkar were hastily accepted and a further split among the Hindus was created by alotting certain number of seats for the depressed classes in the Punjab and Bengal out of the meagre proportion of the Hindu seats—a split which was not even thought of by the Premier himself.

Inspite of telegrams of protests sent by Bhai Parmanandji from Simla against the proposed acceptance of the Ambedkar's terms, whatever apparent good the Poona Pact was supposed to have contained, was later on nullified by the Government adopting commulative methods instead of distributive methods of voting by the Caste Hindus and the Depressed classes.

THE FAILURE OF UNITY CONFERENCE

Pandit M. M. Malaviya, it seemed, did not take the Communal Decision at first so seriously. He tried to have another Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference at Allahabad. Bhai Parmanand was also invited to this

Conference. In a short speech in the Conference he, at the very outset, explained that the Conference could serve no useful purpose if the setting aside of the Communal Award was not made the primary condition and the basis for further negotiations. His proposal was not accepted and Bhaiji left Allahabad in disappointment. The Conference went on for two months and ended in fiasco.

BHAIJI COMBATS 'THE AWARD' INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLY

Bhai Parmanand took upon himself to combat the Communal Award on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha and it has since then carried on its struggle against the Award under his guidance.

He was the only Hindu leader who opposed the Communal Award and the White Paper from the floor of the Central Legislative Assembly. His two speeches delivered on March 13, 1933 and on March 29, 1937 are memorable in as much as these clearly placed before the Government and the country the position of the Hindus in the proposed constitution. He concluded one of his speeches in the Assembly in the following pathetic words :—

"I do not think there could be a greater injustice and inequity that could be done to a great and anci-

ent race. I would go a step further and say that this shows a kind of vindictiveness on the part of the Government towards the Hindus on account of the various ways of agitation they have adopted against the Government. No doubt a very large number of agitators come from the Hindus, but there can be no doubt also that this class does not represent the real Hindu mind or Hindu feeling. The Hindu population though feeling interested in the present agitation for various reasons, is, in fact, keeping itself distinct and watching the events in the capacity of a spectator. Any kind of vindictiveness on the part of an enlightened Government towards a whole people would be unpardonable in the eyes of God and unjustifiable in the eyes of history. I beg to submit, therefore, that there is yet time for the Government to intervene and have this wrong redressed."

DR. MOONJE'S STATEMENTS

Dr. B. S. Moonje, then the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, R. B. Mehr Chand Khanna, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee of Bengal, Syt. Ram Rao Desh Mukh ex-Minister C. P., Mr. Gavoi of Nagpur and the late Prof. Chhablani of Sindh sailed for London to submit their evidences before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee. Dr. B. S. Moonje, on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha, submitted the following statements which

contain all what the Mahasabha has to say on the minorities problem generally :—

In this connection particular attention is drawn to the facts:

SANCTITY OF THE 'LUCKNOW PACT'.

(a) That since 1916 an agreement, of mutual consent in brotherly friendship between Hindus and Moslems known as the Lucknow Pact, is in actual operation through the present Government of India Act.

(b) That it is the Moslems who are now repudiating this Pact of mutual agreement. The Hindus object to such unilateral repudiation.

(c) That even the Simon Commission have practically supported this very reasonable opposition of the Hindus in their recommendations in respect of the Lucknow Pact and hold the view that until a new pact of mutual agreement is arrived at, the old pact, called the Lucknow Pact, must stand.

Under the circumstances the British Government should say, as did the Right Honourable Mr. Thomas, Sécretary for the Dominions, in his speech on the Irish question for similar reasons, in the House of Commons on the 4th of July, 1932 :—

"But we will not be a party and cannot be a party to allowing a question of this kind which is a solemn obligation made between two people to be treated simply as if it were a scrap of paper."

Neither party has a moral right to repudiate the Pact and if solemn pacts pledging the honour and word of peoples are allowed to be repudiated and treated as a scrap of paper in easy conscience, peaceful and ordered conditions of life will vanish and civilized life itself, as has been so truly said by the Right Honourable Mr. Thomas, will be made impossible.

DECISION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

This decision is most unjust to the Hindus generally and to the Hindu minorities particularly for the following reasons:—

(a) That in provinces where the Moslems form minority communities, weightages sanctioned under the present Government of India Act have not only been generally maintained but in the provinces of U. P., Bihar and C. P., there is even slight increase in those weightages.

(b) That while maintaining these weightages for the Moslem minorities, the representation which was given to the Hindu minorities of the Punjab and Bengal under the present Government of India Act has been very much reduced; and not only no weightage is given but the representation that is now provided by the White Paper for the Hindu Minorities in the Punjab and Bengal is even below what they are entitled to on the population basis in their respective provinces.

(c) That in the Punjab and Bengal where the Moslems form the majority communities, provision has been made for

guaranteeing majority by statute, though indirectly to the Moslem majority in the Punjab and for guaranteening a large majority by statute to the Moslem majority in Bengal over the Hindu minority who have been thus deprived of all possible constitutional means of converting their minority into political majority.

(d) In Bengal the Moslems form 54.8 percent of the population and the Hindus and others, that is, Buddhists, Jains. Jews, Sikhs, Animists form 44.8 per cent of the population. The Hindus have not been given represe .tation even in proportion to their population. Educationally and culturally they are most advanced. Their contribution to Public Revenues is the largest. They play a much more important part in the field of commerce and industry than the Mohammedans. According to the calculation of Sir N. N. Sircar, Member, Joint Parliamentary Committee, out of 34 seats assigned to special constituencies, no more than 11 seats will come to the Hindus, nine are likely to go to the Mohammedans and 14 to Europeans and Anglo Indians So out of a House of 250 Hindus get only 91 seats, that is to say 36.4 percent, Christians including Europeans and Anglo-Indians who form ˋ36 percent of the population and should get only one seat on the basis of their population, get 31 seats, which means a weightage of 3100 per cent. Such a weightage is out of all proportion to whatever considerations they may be entitled to for their share in Commerce, but all these considerations are entirely ignored where the Hindus are concerned.

Over and above all this comes the Poona Pact which is

based on the figu-es given in column 6, page 119 of the Indian Franchise Committee's Report. These figures, as shown in the Report, are under revision. If test of untouchability, which ought to be the only test as prescribed by the Indian Franchise Committee is employed, the population of the Depressed Classes might be found to be .07 millions only. Therefore the number of seats for the Depressed Classes should be fixed after a fresh enquiry to determine the exact number of untouchables is ordered and its results are known.

(e) That on the contrary in the Central Legislature the All India Hindu majority has been reduced to an absolute minority, as will be evident from the following :—

(1) The Simon Commission allocated 150 seats to the Hindus including the depressed classes out of a total of 250 in the Central Legislalure, that is 60 per cent.

(2) The Government of India Despatch provides for 80 seats for Hindus including depressed classes out of 150 seats to be returned by general territorial constituencies in a House of 200, that is, 53 p. c. Besides, out of the remaining 50 seats, the Hindus could expect to get about 25 seats. Thus the proportion of the Hindus would have been about 60 per cent.

3. The White Paper provides for only 105 seats for Hindus including depressed classes out of 250 seats reserved for the British India side of the Federal Assembly, that is, only 42 p. c. This percentage may rise to 45 p c., if the Hindus likely to be returned from special constituencie are to be added

(f) That Sindh has been separated ignoring the unanimous and determined opposition of the Hindu minority of Sindh, who were not given a chance to send any representative to any of the three Round Table Conferences and also the British Indian Delegation to the Joint Parliamentary Committee to present their case, though the Sindh Moslems were given two, if not three, representatives on the Round Table Conference. Thus the decision of separating Sindh is an ex-parte judgment in its pure and naked form.

(g) That separated Sindh being pronounced officially to be a deficit province with yearly deficit of not less than Rs. eighty lacs, it will be another piece of injustice if the deficit be made good by a subvention from the revenues of the Central Government to which the largest Contribution is made by the Hindus of India, who are opposed to separation equally with the Hindus of Sindh.

N. B.—

If Sindh must be separated, then the following proposals are made in the interest of justice to the Hindu minority:—

(a) That after a lapse of five years after separation an enquiry should be made on the following lines :—

(1) Has the efficiency of administration been maintained at the same level at which it was when Sindh formed a part of Bombay Presidency.

(2) Has there been the same progress in nation-building departments as there is in Bombay.

(3) Does the minority community enjoy the same degree of security of life and property as it did when Sindh formed part of Bombay.

(4) Is the province financially solvent and sound.

(b) That the constitution should provide inter-alia for the re-amalgamation of Sindh with Bombay if the results of the enquiry mentioned above are not satisfactory.

(c) That proposals for taxation should not be such as to throw a disproportionately heavy burden on the minority.

(d) That the majority community should get no preferential treatment for

(1) Recruitment to Services.
(2) Admission to Educational institutions.
(3) Acquisition of property.

(e) That discriminatory laws like the Land Alienation Act should be interdicted.

(h) That similarly exparte decisions have been taken in respect of the N. W. F. Province without giving any chance to the Hindu minority of the province to represent their case at the Round Table Conference. The Moslem majority of the province was represented on the Conference by a powerful and influential representative, the Hon'ble Sir Abdul Quayum, and the Hindu minority was not given any representative at all.

In view of special Imperial conditions for which the N. W. F. Province was separated from the Punjab, special

safeguards should be provided for the protection of the Hindu minority and the maintenance of Law and Order.

SEPARATE VERSUS JOINT ELECTORATES.

The Mahasabha has a fundamental objection to separate electorates but desires it to be particularly noted that the scheme of separate electorate was devised for the protection of a minority community. A community which is in majority in any province is not, therefore, legitimately entitled to demand separate electorates. A minority community should be given the right to demand joint electorates with the majority community, should it consider it needful for its protection, irrespective of the consent thereto of the majority community. In such circumstances, the seats for the minority community may be reserved in Joint electorates on the basis of their proportion in the population of the province and the community should be given the right to contest additional seats.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS,

(a) The Hindu Mahasabha stands for making provision in the constitution for full protection of the different cultures, religions, languages, scripts and personal laws of the different minorities.

(b) As for civic and oconomic rights, none shall be prejudiced by reason of his caste or creed in acquiring or enjoying those rights which should expressly include the rights of owing, purchasing, or disposing of landed properties in the open market without any restrictions of any

kind whatsoever and the freedom of choice of any profession or calling. All laws existing at present in India based on caste discriminations and acting prejudicially to the enjoyment of these rights should automatically lapse.

(c) That no person shall be under any disability for admission to any branch of public service merely by reason of his religion or caste.

(d) Membership of any community or caste or creed should not prejudice any person for purposes of recruitment to public services or be a ground for non-admission, promotion or supersession in any public service or to any public institution.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

There should be no communal representation in the Public services which must be open to all communities on the basis of merit and competency ascertained through open competitive tests. Recruitment to Services should be made on considerations of highest efficiency and qualifications neccessary and available for any particular service by open competition, thereby securing the two-fold object of maintaining the services on a high level of efficiency and leaving open a fair field of competition to all communities to secure fair representation on the basis of merit and efficiency. The public services constitute the soul of self-Government. It will not be safe to have less efficiency in administration, than at least what prevails under British responsibility, Considerations, therefore, of maintaining efficiency in administration at the highest possible standard

make it obligatory to demand the highest necessary qualifications requisite for any particular service from those who offer themselves for recruitment to public services, irrespective of caste and creed.

PROBLEM OF DEPRESSED CLASSES.

It is purely a domestic question of the Hindu Society based, as it is, on the Hindu custom of untouchability and unapproachability. Of late there has come upon the Hindus' mind a vast change which is striking at the very root of the custom by throwing open temples to the so-called depressed classes.

The best solution of the problem which is also least offensive to constitutional purity in reservation of seats for them is Joint Electorates with the Hindus on the basis of their proportion in the population.

What is needed is fixation of the definition of the term depressed classes to untouchability and unapproachability and then to ascertain in each province as to which of the caste should be included in the Depressed classes.

THE POONA PACT AND THE PUNJAB HINDUS

The Hindus of the Punjab have always contended that there is no depressed classes problem in the Punjab on account of several factors operating against the custom of untouchability, such as the Arya Samaj movement, the Sikh movement and Reform movements amongst the Hindus. This contention of the Hindus was supported by the Local Government and the Government of India. The Communal decision accordingly on the support of the Government of

India refused to create depressed classes question in the Punjab but unfortunately, owing to the fast of Mahatma Gandhi and the natural anxiety of the people to save his life, the Poona Pact was hurried through. The Poona Pact should, therefore, be amended so far as the Punjab question is concerned to restore the status quo ante."

Another statement of the Hindu Mahasabha on the constitutional problem of India was snbmitted at the same time to the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee in London. It deals with the pledges given by His Majesty's Government at various times for introducing Responsible Government in India. It then puts forth the views of the Hindu Mahasabha in the following words:—

When the White Paper is studied and analyzed, certain points stand out which enable the people to visualise that there is no improvement in their constitutional status and that what is provided in the proposals of the White Paper is mere increased association of the people with the Government of the country for which, in its essence, it is the British Crown through its Agents and not the people that are responsible. Some of the most important of these points are pieced together briefly in the resolution adopted at the Joint Conference of the Members of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Members of the Central Legislature with which the Hindu Mahasabha is in entire agreement:—

The resolution is as follows:—

This Conference puts on record its deliberate opinion that the constitution of India as foreshadowed in the White Paper will not allay but increase discontent as being most disappointing and inadequate and even retrogressive for the following reasons :—

(a) That there is no advance in the constitutional status of India and whole of the conception of the constitution is based on the assumption that India is a conquered territory belonging to the Crown of England and is to be administered, not in the interest of India, by the agents of the Crown.

(b) That the constitution does not even remotely or in any sense approximate to a Dominion Constitution which the Government is pledged to grant by Parliamentary declarations.

(c) That though it was agreed that the introduction of Central Responsibility leading to Dominion Status should be accompanied during a period of transition by safeguards which should be demonstrably in the interest of India, the period of transition is not provided nor it is fixed and the safeguards are not conceived in the interest of India.

(d) That the Central Responsibility is made dependent on the one hand, ultimately on the will of the Princes and on the other, on the World economic conditions making the establishment of the Reserved Bank possible and on its successful working and also more particularly on the will of the Houses of Parliament to present an addresss, if and when they so choose to His Majesty praying for His Majesty's proclamation announcing the establishment of the Federation.

(e) That provision has been made for endowing the Governor-General with extra-ordinary powers described under the catagories called : (a) Reserved Departments (b) Special Responsibilitiee (c) Discretionary Powers (d) Special powers and (e) Legislative powers by which the Governor-General can make acts without the consent of or even reference to Legislatures and can obtain funds at his own individual judgment and will.

(f) That the authority of the Governor-General to appoint Counsellors for the administration of Reserved Departments of Defence and Foreign affairs is not limited choice of his Counsellors only from amongst the elected members of the Legislatures.

(g) That the Federal Legislatures have been denied the power of constituting a Railway Board by a statute of its own for the administration of the Federal Rlys.

(h) That the responsibility of the Finance Minister already circumscribed as it is by making more than eighty percent of the revenues non-votable has been further seriously crippled by the appointment of a Financial Adviser to the Viceroy.

(i) That no provision has been made for complete Indianisation of the Army within a reasonable period.

(j) That powers are still retained in regard to the recruitment and control of Public Service, the Police Service and other Services, by the Secretary of State for India, which being the steel-frame of the constitution are incapable of automatic adjustment compatible with automatic constitutional growth,

(k) That no provision has been made for automatic growth to Dominion Constitution.

(l) That fundamental rights have not been defined and no provision has been made for the inclusion of those rights in Constitution Act, and that in view of the fact that these alone comprise the true and legitimate protection of a minority, this omission coupled with practically autocratic powers of the Governor-General is bound to lead to differential treatment of minorities in different provinces.

(m) That the Government reserves to itself the right to reconsider the whole position in respect of Reforms under certain possible but undefined financial, economic and political conditions, even though all other requirements for the inauguration of the Federation shall have been satisfied.

(n) That the Communal Award which forms the basis of structure of the Constitution is predominently pro-Moslem and highly unjust to the Hindus. It is unacceptable to the Hindus as it provides for separate electorates and undue weightages in representation in Legislatures to the Moslems at the cost of the Hindus and gives statutory majority in effect to the Moslems in the Punjab.

To the above the Mahasabha would add that a Constitution based on the Communal decision of the British Government cannot be one of Dominion Status, nor can it ever lead to it. It would always be an unsurmountable obstacle to redeem their pledges thereof.

The Mahasabha has therefore to criticise the Communal decision also apart from its adverse effects on the interests of the Hindu Community.

Bhai Parmanand on behalf of the Hindu Maha Sabha convened a meeting of the Hindu, Sikh and Parsi members of the Central Legislatures at Simla in Sept. 1933.

A statement with the signatures of Syts. Sukhraj Roy, (Rai Bahadur), Amarnath Dutt, Bhupat Singh, Raghubir Singh, (Rai Bahadur), Chandi Mal Gola, Bhai Parmanand, Satyendranath Sen, S. G. Jog, G. N. Mujumdar, Gupteshwar Prasad Singh, B. L. Rastogi, N. R. Gunjal, M. C. Rajha (Rao Bahadur), Lalchand Navalrai B. I., Patil (R. B.), Liladhar Chaudhari, B. N. Misra, B. Das and N. N. Ankleseria was submitted to the Joint Select Committee in London.

BHAI PARMANANDA'S EVIDENCE

Shri Bhai Parmananda who also went to London, submitted the following statement on behalf of the Central Hindu Committee of the Central Legislatures.

THE HINDUS AND THE COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

While fully supporting the view that the responsibility given to the Central or to the Provincial Legislatures has been placed under so many restrictions as to reduce it to a mere name, and that the safeguards with reservation of power to the Governor-General and the Governors under the name of "special responsibilities", "discretionary powers", Governor-General's powers of issuing ordinances and enacting

special acts, etc., take away the spirit of responsibility leaving only the form behind, I have to submit that the chief subject which I propose to deal with is the grave wrong done to the Hindus by the settlement of the communal problem, commonly known as the Prime Minister's Award, and by the apportionment of seats in the Legislatures to various communities, as outlined in the White Paper.

WRONG PROCEDURE ADOPTED IN ARRIVING AT A SOLUTION OF THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT.

It was a wrong assumption, based upon a fallacious theory, that the communal problem of India could be settled by mutual agreement among the various communities and diverse interests, and further that the settlement was intimately connected with the question of Hindu-Moslem unity.

The Hindus and Moslems having entirely different ideals as to their future growth and development, it was no use mixing up the settlement of communal issues and the Hindu-Moslem unity or any agreement dependent upon it. Unfortunately, however, the discussions in the Round Table Conference centered round the question of the unity of various communities and it assumed an unusual importance during the Second Round Table Conference, which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi. To achieve this unity was a passion with him and, to that extent, it proved to be a source of weakness. Hindu-Moslem concord, taken by

itself, is an excellent thing; but as understood in Indian politics, it has led to untoward consequences.

The Congress, in its struggle to achieve self-government, has run into the habit of calling this struggle a war. For the purposes of war, of course, complete unity among different parties is essential. And, in order to secure that unity the leaders of the Congress had been offering higher terms to the Mohammedans without properly considering how those terms would affect the Hindus. But to understand the matter aright it is necessary to know that this struggle is not a war in its literal sense and the grant of self-government to India, whether due to the growth of a new feeling of humanity in Britain, or due to pressure brought to bear upon the British Government by various modes of agitation including the recent Civil Disobedience movement, could not but be in the nature of a gift to India by England. It is true that even to force England to give India self-government, unity among the various communities would be a great help, but it could not be an essential condition.

COMMUNAL CONSTITUTION, A NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY.

It is acknowledged on all hands that democratic constitution must be free from the virus of communalism. It can be said with all certainty that no constitution which is based upon entirely different, and very often mutually opposed interests, could lead to the growth of a truly national government. The full force of this argument has been perceived by everyone who has had to study the

communal problem in India. The authors of the Montague-Chelmsford Report discussing this subject come to the following conclusion :—

"We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it and spread it throughout the world is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself.....The communal system stereotypes existing relations. We regard any system of communal electorates as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."

The Statutory Commission supported the above view thus :—

"Communal representation—the provision by law that a particular religious community shall be represented in a popular legislature solely by members of its own body with a guarantee as to how many communal seats there shall be—is an undoubted obstacle in the way of the growth of a common citizenship."

The Prime Minister again expressed the absurdity of communal electorates by saying that :—

"The evil of communal electorates has assumed its most dangerous form and proportion in India, where different communities and minorities are out to claim that the legislature is to represent not regions, but religions, not areas or interests, but castes and creeds, by a strange

electoral system based on the grouping of voters by religion in separate communal electorates."

And, moreover, in explaining this complicated question to the House of Commons, he said :—

"This is one of the problems which has to be faced because, if India is going to develop robust political life, there must be room for national political parties based upon conceptions of India's interests and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India."

Sir Austen Chamberlain, representing the British Government in the Minorities Committee of the League of Nations, said :—

"It was certainly not the intention of those, who had devised the system of minorities' protection, to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minorities Treaties was to secure to the minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to merge in the great national community to which they belonged."

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Under the circumstances and for the reasons mentioned above the only right course for the British Government was to chalk out a truly national constitution for India without paying any heed to the claims put forth by the communally-minded leaders of the various communities; or

to follow the general principles laid down by the Minorities Committee of the League of Nations for the guidance of various Governments in communal matters.

Failing that, the next best course for the Government was to discover a uniform plan and to follow it strictly in the matter of distribution of communal rights. Scrupulous impartiality was the one thing to be expected from the Government in this case. Unfortunately what we find is that the proposed constitution emphasises and accentuates communalism above everything else and not only accedes to the communal demands, but gives every encouragement to communalism by putting a premium over it, as the proposals in the White Paper show.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION'S OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT—AUTHENTIC AND UNBIASSED.

The Statutory Commission was appointed by Parliament in 1927, in pursuance of Section 84A of the Government of India Act. The Commission carried on their task of investigation in India in co-operation with the Committees appointed from the Central and the Provincial Legislatures. Among other things the question of communal representation was enquired into. And naturally their unanimous view based on a thorough examination of the question on the spot should carry weight and authority. The first question before them was that of communal representation which they call most important and highly controversial. We know what view they had. But in spite of that they decided in favour of maintaining separate representation.

And why so? They give their reason in the following words :—

"We are now faced, as the authors of the Montague-Chelmsford Report were faced, by the indisputable fact that the Mohammedan community as a whole is not prepared to give up communal representation and would regard its abolition, without the assent of that community, not only as the withdrawal of a security which it prizes but as a cancelling of assurances upon which it has relied."

Having a consciousness that the responsibility of retaining communal electorates lay on the Mohammedan community, the Statutory Commission took a fair and unbiassed view of the subject. They did not try to discover any new rule for their guidance in the settlement of the Hindu-Moslem question. They took the Lucknow Pact and followed the lines of that agreement arrived at between the Hindu and Moslem leaders in 1916, when communal tension had not been replaced by good-will.

Referring to the most disputed problem of the allocation of seats to different communities in Bengal and the Punjab, they say with great reason and truth :—

"But a claim has been put forward for a guarantee of Mohammedan representation which goes further than this... This claim goes to the length of seeking to preserve the full security of representation now provided for Moslems in these six provinces and at the same time to enlarge in Bengal and the Punjab the present proportion of seats secured to the community by separate electorates to

figures proportionate to their ratio of population. This would give Mohammedans a fixed and unalterable majority of the general constituency seats in both provinces. We cannot go so far. The continuance of the present scale of weightage in the six provinces could not—in the absence of a new general agreement between the communities—equitably be combined with so great a departure from the existing allocation of seats in Bengal and the Punjab."

The Communal Award disregards all this and goes to the length of giving more than a mere statutory majority to the Mohammedans in the Punjab.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WHITE PAPER AND THE STATUTORY COMMISSION AS REGARDS ALLOCATION OF SEATS IN THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

The Statutory Commission allotted seats to various communities in the proposed Federal Assembly in the following proportion: fixing the total number of seats at 250, they assigned 150 seats to the Hindus (including the Depressed Classes), 75 to the Mohammedans and 25 to the other communities. Thus the Hindus get 60 per cent (15 per cent less than their population ratio) and the Mohammedans get 30 per cent of the total (5 per cent more than their population ratio). The White Paper allocates 150 instead of 150 seats to Hindus (including the Depressed Classes) and 82 to Mohammedans. Thus it reduces the Hindu majority (75 per cent. of the whole population) to a minority by giving them a representation of 42 per cent.

The comparative allocation of seats as proposed in the Statutory Commission's Report, the Government of India Despatch and the White Paper is :—

	Hindus	Moslems	Percentage of Hindu to Moslem seats	Sikhs	Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Xtians	Special Constituencies (Commerce, Labour, Women and Landlords)
			per cent.			
Statutory Commission	150	75	83·0	5	17	—
Govt. of India Despatch ...	136	75	36·7	5	20	—
White Paper	105	82	44·0	6	20	37*

* These special seats have been taken out of the Hindu seats (General Constituency) reducing their percentage from 60 per cent., according to the Simon Commission, to 42 per cent of the total by the White Paper.

THE INIQUITIES OF THE COMMUNAL AWARD

(a) The Communal Award is iniquitous because it gives a statutory majority to the majority community in the Punjab to an extent which is beyond the expectations of even the Moslem leaders of the Province, thereby establishing a fixed and unalterable religious statutory majority which could not be reduced by any appeal to the electorate in the Province. Fixing the total number at 175, the White Paper gives 86 to Mohammedans, 43 to Hindus and 32 to Sikhs,

i. e., 11 more than that of the Hindus and Sikhs combined. Adding 10 seats of Special Constituencies five more would go to Mohammedans, thus making their total 91 and of all the rest 84. With such a strong statutory communal majority in the Punjab Council the Governor, even with his special powers, would not be in a position to protect the minorities, because in the face of opposition from this majority he would not be able to form an alternative government. Thus "freed from this contingency and sheltered by the citadel of religious orthodoxy the majority might easily become a veritable engine of oppression and misrule against which the combined opposition would be impotent."

(b) In other provinces special weightage is given to Moslem minorities. In the United Provinces for instances, the Moslems forming 14 per cent. of the population are given as many as half of the number of Hindu seats in the Upper Chamber. On the other hand the Hindus in the Punjab, a minority community in the province, instead of being given any weightage get less than even their population ratio.

(c) The Punjab being the main recruiting ground and a source of supply of 62 per cent recruits to the army of defence, the Moslem Government of the Punjab would exercise an entire control over this source

(d) The creation of a separate deficit province of Sind, with a population of less than four millions and the introduction of full-fledged reforms in the North-West Frontier Province, with a population of two and a half millions and each necessitating a subvention of nearly a crore of rupees

at the cost of the poor people of India, cannot surely be called measures of protection for the minorities. On the other hand the Corbett scheme of creating a new province consisting of the Ambala Division of the Punjab, together with some districts of the U. P., which could have served as a solution for the most difficult problem of the Punjab and which is keenly desired by the people of the Ambala Division, was altogether ignored.

(e) Such enormous communal concessions have created anomalies like the following:—

The backward population of the North-West Frontier Province maintaining their administration at a heavy cost to the Central Revenue are given five seats, i. e., less than half a million people of that Province return one member to the Federal Assembly While an advanced province like Bengal, with a population of over 50 millions, is given 37 seats only, which works out at one member to one and half million people. This is three times the number of persons represented by one member of the Federal Assembly in the case of the North-West Frontier Province.

Bhaiji did not rest with this much only. Immediately after assuming the Presidentship of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha at Ajmer in Oct., 1933 he undertook an all India tour. He visited important towns in all the provinces of Hindusthan, i. e. Agra and Oudh, Bihar, Bengal, Bombay Presidency, Maharashtra, the N. W. F. Province and the Punjab. In Maharashtra Province, Dr. B. S. Moonje

and Sjt. R. G. Bhidey also joined him. In almost all the cities, mass meetings of the Hindus were held and unanimous resolutions condemning the so-called Communal Award were passed, texts of which were communicated to the Government and to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Besides this a draft resolution protesting against the Communal Award was got printed and the signatures of the Hindu members of the various Provincial Legislatures, Municipal Boards and other local bodies were obtained and forwarded to the Joint Parliamentary Committee and to the British Government in London.

PANDIT MALAVIYAJI IN THE FIELD

R. B. Mehr Chand Khanna organised a Frontier Provincial Hindu Conference which was held at Peshawar in 1934, to express the resentment of the Frontier Hindus against the Communal Award. Besides Bhai Parmanand, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee and Pandit M. M. Malaviya attended the Conference. This provided an opportunity for the Hindu Sabha leaders to discuss the Award thoroughly with Panditjee.

Panditjee was even moved to tears and was converted to an attitude of strong opposition to the Communal Decision. He in collaboration with Sjt. M. S. Aney tried his best to bring round the Congress to

his view but failing in his attempt, he formed a separate party under the name of 'the Congress Nationalist Party' in order to work in co-operation with the Hindu Mahasabha. Panditji's party fought the last elections against the Congress on the issue of the Communal Award.

During 1934-35, there were held some All-India Anti-Communal Award Conferences. The first Conference was held on Oct. 25, 1934 at Bombay under the Presidentship of Shri B. Ramanand Chatterjee, an ex-President of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha and the second at Delhi on Feb. 23, 1935 under the Presidentship of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the well-known Editor of the 'Leader'.

In the Punjab, a minority Conference was organised by the Punjab Hindu Sabha leaders. It was held under the Presidentship of Mr. K. L. Ralia Ram, a respected Christian leader. The late Sardar Bahadur Mehtab Singh was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhai Parmanand and Raja Narindra Nath took a leading part in the Conference.

Resolutions on behalf of the minorities (Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, etc.) of the Punjab condemning the Communal Award were passed and communicated to the British Government.

WHY WE FAILED ?

The Government's Communal Award, as we now see, has not come up to the expectations of any non-Muslim Community in India and yet all this agitation carried on with such earnestness by the All India Hindu Mahasabha, having the good of the country at heart, seems to have gone in vain. All our reasoning and appeal to the sense of justice and equity of the British statesmen have so for fallen on deaf ears. The reasons for this failure are not far to seek. In the first place the British Government has its own definite aims and policy to follow in this country. They cared neither for the so-called 'Swaraj War' waged by the Indian National Congress nor for the discordant cry of the Hindus, who are disunited and a major portion of whom are still being obsessed by the false philosophy of the Congress Nationalism. The Hindu Sabha agitation against the Communal Award roused the people of India, specially the Hindus as a whole but the Congress following a double-faced policy turned it to its own favour. Apparently the Congress seemed to all an enemy of the Constitution as it gave solemn pledges to their electorates that its sole aim was nothing less than to break the Constitution. But in their heart of hearts the Congress people wanted to work the Constitution and thereby to gain more power to carry out their own theory, by

their policy of 'neither accepting nor rejecting' the Communal Award, of pleasing the Muslims at the cost of the Hindus. The Government knew it. Unfortunately the Communal nature of the Constitution has all along been the main and essential part of the British Policy.

HOSTILITY OF CONGRESS

The Congress has acted as an abettor, consciously or unconsciouly, in this clever move of the British statesmen. The great reason of our failure, and which is more regretable, is the deliberate indifference and hostility of the Indian National Congress towards our struggle against the Communal Award.

The strange part of the affair is that the Hindus for whose very existence the Hindu Mahasabha took up the cause could not or did not distinguish between a friend and a foe and that is why the Government treated the agitation very lightly. All the same the Hindu Mahasabha has not lost all hope. Their cause is just; they are sure to win. "We do not grudge, them their victory because though we were vanquished in the fields yesterday, enough fight is still left in us to-day. We have not given up the struggle for lost. Nay, we have already returned to the charge".

THE
FUNDS AND THE PROPERTIES
OF THE
HINDU MAHASABHA

THE FUNDS AND THE PROPERTIES

The Hindu Mahasabha has never commanded riches although some of the wealthiest men are its sympathisers and patrons. Their corporate wealth has dwindled down to zero so far as the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha are concerned.

There are absolutely no reserved funds or other funds in hand for carrying on the objects of the Hindu Mahasabha on a stable and permanent basis. During the early years of its establishment sufficient funds came and were spent. Men like Pandit M. M. Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai used to collect funds and used to spend very liberally as well. They did not think of, it appears, creaticg a permanent reserve fund. A huge amount of funds was spent for starting three daily papers. The Hindustan Times (English), Tej (Urdu) and Arjun (Hindi) were started by the Mahasabha leaders which owing to the lack of control became independent in the course of time. These Journals now feel shy of propagating the gospels of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The martyrdom of Swami Shraddhanand gave an opportunity to collect funds. About Rs. Three Lakhs

were collected and the Hindu Mahasabha created a separate trust for its working. At present there is over a Lakh of rupees and it has been saved and kept as reserve funds due to strenuous and constant efforts of Shri Bhai Parmanandji and Dr. B. S. Moonje who are also the trustees of the Funds. According to the resolution by which the Shraddhand Memorial Trust was constituted, one fourth of the income of the Trust was to be spent through the Hindu Mahasabha for Hindu Sangathan work. But this one fourth share of the income has never been handed over by the Shraddhanand Memorial Trust to the Hindu Mahasabha so far for the Sangathan work.

The death of Lala Lajpat Rai afforded another occasion for raising a permanent fund. Dr. B. S. Moonje, the then Working President of] the Hiudu Mahasabha succeeded in collecting about Rs. 50,000/- for the Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund.

In 1925 L. Lajpat Rai transferred the Head Office of the Hindu Mahasabha from Benares to Delhi. Up-to the presidentship of Shri Bhai Parmanandji in 1933 the Head Office was being kept in a small rented second storeyed building on the Punchku[illegible] Road. This was below the dignity of the Hindu Mah[illegible]abha. Bhai Parmanand wanted to find out some place for the building of an Ashram where workers for the Hindu Sangathan work could be trained.



Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan and Hindu Sewa Ashram

Taking into consideration the stability of the institution and the safety of the investment the sum of Rupees 50,000/- was also used in the Mahasabha building. The building of Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan could not have been completed but for the munificence of Seth Jugal Kishore Birla who has so far donated over Rs. 40,000/-. Shri Bhaiji has collected about Rs. 20,000/- for the Hindu Sewa Ashram. For the maintenance of the Ashram Shri Bhaiji donated his one hundred shares of the Punjab Sugar Mills which were then of the market value of Rs. 35,000/- and of the annual income of Rs. 4000/- through the Hindu Maha Sabha at the Ajmer Session. A separate trust has been created for this purpose.

A grand palatial building is now standing over a ridge which commands the view of the whole of New Delhi. It stands as a permanent monument in the Capital of Hindusthan. It has now become a place of daily pilgrimage for hundreds of Hindus without any distinction of caste and creed whatsoever.

The Mahasabha has very few donors who donate for the current expenses of its programme of work, but the name of Seth Jugal Kishore Birla is an exception to this statement.

Shri Veer V. D. Savarkar is now contemplating very seriously to collect funds for a Reserve fund to enable the Mahasabha to put up a solid work.

Some of the Provincial Hindu Sabhas have also got properties. The Punjab Hindu Sabha for instance has got a property worth about Rs. 2 Lakhs with an annual income of about Rs. 3000/-. This income meets the organization expenses of the Punjab Hindu Sabha.

In the Bihar province as well the Hindu Sabha has got its own building which was purchased at the cost of Rs. 8000/- advanced by Seth Jugal Kishore Birla.

In Bengal Shri Seth Jugal Kishore Birla has got constructed a number of temples at the cost of Lakhs of rupees for which separate trusts have been created. Some prominent members of the Hindu Sabha are on the trusts that manage the properties.

In the last earthquake in Bihar Rs. One Lakh were spent through the Hindu Mahasabha for the repair of temples which were damaged. This amount of One Lakh was also donated by Shri Seth Jugal Kishore Birla.

OUR
PAN-HINDU
NATIONAL FLAG

OUR NATIONAL FLAG

As a frontispiece of this book our readers shall find a beautiful illustration of our 'Hindu National Flag.' The conception of it came from the versatile brain of Swatantrya Vir V. D. Savarkar. For the first time he propounded the idea and explained it in details in the famous journal "Shraddhanand" edited, by Dr. N. D. Savarkar.

Many considerations have been borne in mind when he took up the task of determining the Flag of the Hindu Nation. The earth that feeds society, the law that gives nourishment, the book that imparts wisdom, the spinning wheel which symbolises arts and crafts—all these and many others can become symbols and much can be said in respect of each of them. But the crowning representative of all these symbols—the only correct symbol of Abhyudaya अभ्युदय is sword कृपाण. And in this symbol all other symbols are represented. The main symbol for the Hindu National Flag therefore should be the sword कृपाण.

But the ultimate aim of the Hindu Abhyudaya अभ्युदय is Nishreyas निश्श्रेयस्, and keeping this in view the Hindus should endeavour to reach the highest goal

humanly possible which is the special characteristics of the Hindu Nation.

Hindus have perfected a science based on experiment which can be termed as the highest blessing on human life. This Shastra शास्त्र is called the Yoga योग शास्त्र. It is the highest means of the full development of man's internal powers. It is therefore very necessary that a clear symbol of Yoga योग which indicates the way to the highest bliss should be fixed on the Flag of the Hindu Nation.

This Symbol is that of the Kundalini कुण्डलिनी. It is not the characteristic of any particular Jati (जाति) or Varna (वर्ण). It exists in all human beings. On both sides of the Merudanda मेरुदण्ड (Spinal cord), there are two nadis नाडी (nerves) which are named by the Hindu Yogashastris as the Ida ईडा and the Pingala पिङ्गला. They are intertwined with each other like a garland. Between these two there is a third nadi नाडी called the Susumna सुषुम्ना. In them there are centres of nerves which are designated as lotuses in the Yogic language.

There are chiefly six-lotuses, known as the Muladhara (मूलाधारा) the Swadhisthana स्वाधिष्ठान, the Manipura मणिपूर, the Anahata अनाहत, the Vishudha विशुद्ध and the Sahasrara सहस्रारा. In the Muladhara chakra चक्र there is a marvellous power which is coiled up. By Yogic and meditative practices it gets awakened

and passing through every lotus (nerve centre) and experiencing wonderful psychic super human experience reaches the Sahasrara lotus. Then the person practising Yoga experiences wonderfully supersensuous and intense joy and bliss. This stage is designated by the Yogis as that of Kaivalyananda कैवल्यानन्द, by the Vajrayanis as that of Mahasukha महासुख, by the Adwaitees अद्वैतवादिनः as that of Brahmananda ब्रह्मानन्द, and by devotees as that of Parmananda परमानन्द (प्रेमानन्द). To acquire this supreme joy or bliss is the highest ideal of man, be he a Hindu or a non-Hindu (Muslim, Christian or Jew) i. e. believer or non-believer, citizen or forester. This Yogashastra is a science of personal experience. Hence there is no place for difference of opinions. Therefore the Kundalini which is the Muladharya Shakti of man's highest progress and eternally blissful state of superconsciousness which can be intuitively experienced can alone be the symbol of the great ideal at which the Abhyudaya अभ्युदय of the Hindu Nation aims.

Thus the Kundalini कुण्डलिनी which represents all the ultimate aspirations, feelings, and powers of mankind and the sword कृपाण which represents the all-sided Abhyudaya aiming at and leading to the nation's ideal prosperity—these two alone, being depicted on the National flag, will be able to indicate and inspire the ideals of Abhyudaya and Nisshreyas.

Our National Flag thus will represent the Kundalini, the Kripana (sword)—the one representing the highest bliss, the other wordly prosperity; they combine Shanti शान्ति and Shakti शक्ति, Yoga योग, and Bhoga भोग, Nivritti निवृत्ति and Pravitti प्रवृत्ति, Dhyeya ध्येय and Dharana धारणा; the one symbolizes उपनिषद्-विद्या highest spiritual attainment, the other denotes उपनिषद्- 'अविद्या' (worldly advancement); the former reminds one of यशेश्वरकृष्ण Lord Krishna, the latter of Dhanurdhara Partha धनुर्धरपार्थ of the गीता Geeta: The Kundalini means Jnyana Yoga ज्ञानयोग and the Kripan कृपाण means Karmayoga कर्मयोग.

परित्राणाय साधूनां, विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।

"For the protection of the good and the destruction of the wicked."

ईशाऽऽवास्यन् इद सर्वं, यत् किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः, मा गृधः कस्यस्विद् धनम् ॥

"All this, whatever that moves in the world, does so, because it is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what He has alloted to thee."

This is the Universal message of our Hindu National Flag to the world. This is the national declaration.

In order that kingdom, power and glory may not become polluted by the actions of tyranny and in order to keep the central truth of virtuous conduct

always before mankind the background of this Hindu Flag is made of केसर' भगवा Red orchard colour. This is the colour of renunciation. There is no Tyaga त्याग without Yoga योग and Kshema क्षेम. Therefore the Kripana is for the Yoga Kshema योगक्षेम. We not only want to become ourselves free, powerful and liberated but we want also to make the world so. Therefore the colour of the flag of prosperity is Bhagwa. The deeper meaning and the philosophic secret of the Hindu Flag is thus denoted by this Bhagwa-zanda which is adorned by the kundlini कुण्डलिनी with Omkar ॐकार and which also holds the Kripana.

This Flag is the final stage in the evolution of the traditional Hindu Flag in the past. This is the consummation and perfection. From the very ancient times, the colour of the Hindu Flag has been Bhagwa. Even today the 'zanda' indicating the ideas of victorious Pravritti प्रवृत्ति and Blissful Nivritti निवृत्ति is seen always and everywhere on the Hindu temples.

Even at the time of our last triumphal efforts when Hindu Pad Padshahi (हिन्दूपद पादशाही) routed and overthrew the Muslims, this very Bhagwa Flag was adopted as our National Flag, bestowed by Guru Samarth Ram Dass upon our National-Hero, Shri Shivaji Maharaj.

Along with the Royal Bhagwa colour of the Maharastreeya Hindu Power, there is also the Kripan of the Sikh indicative of the memory of Guru

Govind Singh, another great protector of the Hindu nation. Guru Govind Singh used to keep two Kripanas by his side and used to say, "The one is of Yoga and the other is of Bhoga, the one is of शान्ति (eternal peace) and the other is of पुष्टि-तुष्टि (prosperity)."

Then there stands prominent the Onkar ॐकार, the sacred name of the Great One—an inexhaustible spiritual Dynamo, ever pure and source of all our Activity and Bliss. But to crown all our efforts with victory and to guarantee our all round national welfare there is the Symbol of Swastika—embracing all that is good and denoting the continuity of Hindu culture.

The Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha in its 18th Session held at Lahore in 1936 duly recognised this Flag—with the following resolution :—

"The Mahasabha resolves that the Hindu National Flag expressing the central idea of Hindu Nationalism and spirituality be adopted as the Pan-Hindu National Flag."

LONG LIVE OUR NATIONAL FLAG.

LIFE SKETCHES
OF
OUR PRESIDENTS

SHRI PT. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Presided in 1923 & 1935.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya comes of an orthodox and respected family of Brahmans, who originally belonged to Malwa. One of his ancestors migrated from Malwa to Allahabad nearly 400 years ago. The family has produced renowned Sanskrit scholars. He was born at Allahabad on 25th December 1861. Malaviyaji has burning zeal for the Hindu cause from the very beginning of his public career. Although he took prominent part in the Congress and other activities, yet the Hindu cause ever remained a dear and cherished object in his lofty, religious heart. This very object impelled the revered Pandit to found various institutions which have done so much to awaken and strengthen the Hindu Society. Long ago he started the Hindu Samaj at Allahabad. Since then he has been the originator and the life and soul in connection with the introduction of Hindi characters in the U. P. courts, in establishing Hindu Boarding House at Allahabad, Seva Samiti Boy Scouts' Association, Hindu University and finally the Hindu Mahasabha.

When Muslim aggression reached its climax and Hindu interests were at stake, Panditji felt the need

of an organisation to advocate the Hindu cause. Consequently we find him making unceasing efforts as one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Community has rightly valued these efforts by electing him President at various Sessions of the Mahasabha. He presided over 1922, 1924 and 1926 special Sessions held at Gaya, Belgaum and Gauhati respectively, and again in 1923 at the sixth Session held at Benares. In 1928 at Jubbulpore Session there were some differences and Panditji left Mahasabha but did not withdrew his active support and co-operation whenever needed. In 1935 he was again elected President of the 17th Session held at Poona. In fact there are very few deliberations of the Mahasabha in which Malaviya ji does not figure prominently. This has led to the belief, even in the non-Hindus, that he and he alone can speak authoritatively from the Hindu side. That is why Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim Leaguers insisted on getting Malaviyaji's word on Hindu-Muslim bargains made by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress

In 1934, Malaviyaji differed with the Congress on the question of Communal Award and founded 'the Congress Nationalist Party', which did valuable work to keep the solidarity of the Hindu Society intact.

Although Panditji is a staunch Sanatanist yet he is strongly in favour of Shuddhi and Achhut-udhar. He himself has given MANTRAS to Achhuts on the

sacred banks of the Ganges at Benares and Allahabad. Some times this zeal for eradicating these social evils has led to very serious consequences. Some fanatic ruffians, on whom argument will not prevail, pelted stones on Panditji when Mantra ceremony was going on. Such incidents doubled his zeal and the opposition subsided in the long run. Panditji is also the President of the All India Shraddhanand Memorial Trust, founded for the purpose of removing untouchability.

On several occasions Malaviyaji had to resort to Satyagrah for the Hindu cause. Once in the Kumbha fair at Allahabad authorities would not allow pilgrims to take bath at the Sangam. Pandit Malaviya was the first to defy this unjust order. Similarly when Katha was stopped at Har-Ki-Pairi, Hardwar, there too Panditji rushed and did Satyagraha by reciting Katha.

Panditji is full of pity and love. These virtues sometimes become sources of trouble. Any body approaching him for help and co-operation finds his door open. Sometimes people try to have unfair advantage of Panditji. Even in such cases he tries to do his utmost.

In fact the Hindu Community will ever remain indebted to Malaviyaji. His one achievement in the noble cause of Hindu education, the Hindu University alone, will remain a Centre of Hindu culture and a source of knowledge and light to the Hindus for ever.

SHRI SHANKARACHARYA (Dr. Kurtkoti).

Presided in 1924 & 1936.

His Holiness Shri Vidya Shanker Bharati Swami, formerly Dr. Lingesh Mahabhagavat of Kurtkoti, Ph., D., etc., was born on the 20th May, 1879 A.D. in the well-known family of Watandar Patil-Kulkarnis of Kurtkoti, District Dharwar. He is a great Sanskrit scholar of foreign reputation. He has written several works both in Sanskrit and English, and his "Heart of the Bhagavadgita" was accepted by the Oriental University of Washington, United States (America), as a thesis for the degree of Ph. D. He was for several years an Examiner for the additional Vedanta Prize Paper for M. A. of the Bombay University. The Government of Bombay had elected him a Member of the Moral Education Consultative Committee. He took a leading part in the foundation of the Indian Institute of Philosophy of Amalner (Khandesh), where he was a lecturer on the Philosophy of Shankaracharya, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, and of the Sanskrit Academy of Banglore (Mysore State) under the auspices of which he edited a well-known Anglo-Sanskrit quarterly, named 'Sanskrit

Research." The Madras and the Southern Maratha Railway Company had given him a free Second Class Pass to travel between Banglore and Poona as a Religious Preacher.

He was in close connection with all Sanskrit Scholars and Philosophers in England, America, France, Italy and Germany. Though he had not had foreign travels, he has imbibed both Eastern and Western culture. The installation of such a scholar and public worker on the Jagadguru Peeth of Kolhapur on the 3rd June 1917 was unique. Many gentlemen from almost all parts of India were present on the occasion, and Europeans and Japanese too were seen among them. A number of telegrams and letters of congratulations were received from the Viceroy, the Governors of Bombay and Madras, the Maharajas of Mysore, and Baroda and several eminent gentlemen like the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerji, Sir M. Vishesharayya and Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

The expectations of the people about him and the promises given by him were amply realized after the installation of Shri Vidya Shankar Bharati Swami. He has ever since been the resplendent source and life of manifold activities whose aim is, one way or the other, the emancipation of India from religious, social and educational thraldom. He has stimulated philosophical activities by taking a large part in the

establishment of philosophical societies at several places. He has been a pioneer of Sanskrit studies as evidenced by his efforts of founding the Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Nasik, that is not yet realised. He has headed institutions for National Education such as the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth of Poona. But his work as a socio-religious worker is even greater. It was he who started in the Maharashtra the practice of holding annual religious Conference known as the Maharashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad, which has taken up seriously the questian of consolidation of the Hindu society and removal of hindrances and difficulties that threaten its existence. The keenness and versatility with which he has been studying these problems may be seen from the fact that as early as 1918, to attract the attention of the Government, of the public and of the political leaders, to the great religious problems of Hinduism, he interviewed his Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, presided over the All-India Hindu Conference held at Allahabad and addressed a special meeting of the Home Rule League, Allahabad, as Chairman. That he values religious and social regeneration above all other things may be seen from the fact that without siding with one party or the other he has been trying to utilise the services of all for the advance of the Hindu Society.

Shri Shankaracharya, Dr. Krutkoti, presided over the 8th Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in 1924 at Prayag and over its 18th Session held in Lahore in 1936.

The Jagadguru has a versatile intellect. He is conversant with literature, rhetoric, grammar, philosophy. astronomy. medicine, and physical science. He has studied the Shastras with a veteran "Karmi" and by dint of his superior intelligence and dogged perseverance he has acquired a vast proficiency in Sanskrit literature. He has travelled a good deal and his extensive travels have greatly enlarged his views, not of external nature only, but of human life and manner. He has an exquisite natural taste for the sublime and the beautiful in Nature and Art.

The Shankaracharya is not a narrow-minded bigot, but is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of universal toleration. He is full to the brim of the milk of human kindness, and so unbounded is his tenderness of heart that it takes in even the brute creation. His sparkling joviality and excellent bon homie shine out in almost every place.

SHRI LALA LAJPAT RAI

Presided in 1925.

Lala Lajpat Rai was born in 1865 of humble but respectable parents in the small town of Jagraon in the district of Ludhiana. He came of an old Agarwala family. Lajpat Rai never wearied of acknowledging his indebtedness to his mother, a noble soul, and an ideal of Hindu-womanhood. His father, Munshi Radhe Krishna Lal was a teacher of Persian and Urdu in the Govt. High School at Rohatk.

Lajpat Rai had a brilliant career as a student. He studied in the Government College at Lahore for two years being in receipt of a University Scholarship. Having passed the first Certificate Examination of Law of the Punjab University, he started practice in 1883 when he was hardly 18 years of age. Two years later he passed the final Examination, standing second among thirty candidates.

About this time there happened an event which was the turning point of his career. He became associated with two men—differently gifted and differently circumstanced—the late Guru Dutt Vidyarthi and the late Mahatma Hansraj. Since the

advent of Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Land of the five rivers was seething with social and religious fervour. Now the three men identified themselves with the new movement so completely that there was scarcely a progressive propaganda which had not the benefit of their counsel and had not been inspired by their vivifying genius. And they in turn found ample scope for the exercise of their patriotism, philanthropy and religious zeal. Guru Dutt, Hansraj and Lajpat Rai were thus constituted Apostles of the new evangel.

AS A LAWYER AT HISSAR AND LAHORE

Having qualified himself as a pleader, Lala Lajpat Rai elected to settle down to practise at Hissar in the Punjab, where he practised up to 1892 and became the leader of the local bar there. He also acted for three years as the Honorary Secretary of the Hissar Municipal Board. Although he was practising as a lawyer, still the greater portion of his time was nobly and unselfishly spent in discussing questions concerning the welfare not only of the province but of India as a whole. In 1892 he transferred his practice to the wider field of Lahore, the nerve centre of North.

Fortune smiled on his advocacy. He earned name, fame and wealth and he took upon himself to utilise

all the three for his life long mission of Arya Samaj and for the country at large.

IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

In education, secular and religious, Lala Lajpat Rai took a very active interest. He took part in the foundation of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, on the 1st June 1886, with an endowment of some five lacs which he also was instrumental in collecting.

It was chiefly his interest in education that took him to America in 1905, where he visited many educational institutions and took careful notes for future guidance. He gave important evidence before Lord Curzon's University Commission in 1902.

After his return from the political mission on which he had gone to England as a colleague of the late Mr. Gokhale, he organised a political society and collected funds for educating the patriotic sons of the Punjab in politics and economics with a view to send them out as political missionaries on the model, we believe, of the 'Servants of India Society' of Poona. It was the Tilak School of politics, but now, it is generally known as 'the Servants of the People Society'. It is now difficult to state if the members of the Society are carrying on the wishes of the late Lalaji in political sphere of the country.

In 1887, and again in 1899—1900, he organised the Hindu Orphans Relief movement which secured over 2,000 orphans. He acted on both occasions as its General Secretary. In April 1905, on the occasion of the great earthquake in the Kangra District, he organised a Relief Committee on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj and as Secretary of that Committee he visited areas particularly afflicted, collected funds and himself supervised the administration of relief.

Lala Lajpat Rai was also a man of extensive business connections. He was a Director of the Punjab National Bank, the first and the largest Indian Bank of its kind in the Punjab. He was interested in several cotton mills and cotton presses in the Punjab, being in several cases on the Board of Directors.

Lala Lajpat Rai claims attention as a man of letters too. As a journalist, he for several years edited a vernacular magazine and a vernacular weekly journal, both conducted in the interests of religious and social reform and educational progress. He published Urdu biographical monographs on Mazzini. Garibaldi, Shivaji, Swami Dayanand and Sri Krishna—books which have been widely read and greatly appreciated in the province. He remained in constant touch with several newspapers conducted in English, contributing to them frequently on the leading questions of the day. He wrote in English the

life of Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M. A., the Indian reformer. He compiled a concise historical account of the Hindu civilisation up to the advent of the Musalman period. His account of the Arya Samaj is an authoritative history of the institution.

It was in 1888 that Lala Lajpat Rai joined the Indian National Congress movement when it met at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr. George Yule.

At that time he believed, as many others did, that the Congress movement was the panacea of all our political ills but whenever he found that it was going to be anti-Hindu and anti-national he had the courage to break away with it. In his heart of heart, he ever remained, like all true patriots, a staunch Hindu.

One of the greatest episodes in his political career was his deportation. The local Government had misunderstood him and his purpose. An agrarian uprising in the Province was mistaken for a deliberate conspiracy of the leaders.

The Colonisation Bill, the Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill, the increase of canal rates, the plague and all its attendant horrors brought in their train the natural chain of consequences. What could the leaders do? "Remove the discontent," said the Lala, "that is at the bottom of it and soothe the angered, outraged feelings of the people." This kind of talk was considered by a high authority "intolerable

rodomontade." The old, unknown Act III of 1818 was brought back from the forgotten archives of a century ago, the good Lala was dramatically spirited away from his familiar surroundings, and was deported to Burma.

Owing to the generosity of Lord Minto Lalaji was released after about 2 years. On his release the Lala himself openly challenged the accuracy of the dark charges levelled against him.

In 1920 he presided over the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta which was convened to settle the question of Non-co-operation. The decisions of that Session revolutionised the entire politics of the country but Lalaji, being a practical politician, deplored the results of the decision and he was not entirely happy. He was always fair to friends and foes alike and was extremely sad to see the Hindus neglected, nay crushed, by the false philosophy of the Congress under the pretext of Hindu-Muslim Unity. His letter to the late Mr. C. R. Das expressly displayed his views on the impossibility of the Hindu-Muslim Unity. His penetrating eye could discern the baneful effect of it and he boldly sided the Hindu Mahasabha Movement. In 1925, he presided over the Calcutta Session of the Hindu Mahasabha. His Presidential Address speaks of his deep love and great attachment that he had for the Hindus and

Hindutva. In his presidential address Lalaji very ably propounded the principles of Hindu Sangathan movement. Lalaji finished his memorable address with the words, "I appeal to all the different Schools of Hindu Community to lay aside their differences and unite under the flag of the Hindu Mahasabha."

Even under any strong opposition Lalaji never gave way. In 1926 he fought for the Assembly seat against the Congress and inspite of all Congress influence against him he defeated two Congress candidates at two places. It was a remarkable proof of the anti-Congress feeling in the Punjab and of the truth of his convictions.

His was a life of self-sacrifice. He lived for the country and died for it. Truly a model Indian Patriot.

SHRI RAJA NARENDRA NATH

Presided in 1926.

Raja Narendranath is one of the most respected persons in the Punjab. No other public man in the Punjab except a very few only, live for the Hindu cause. In these days it is always considered that the man who can solve the unemployment problem of our young men should be acclaimed as the only saviour. Well may Raja Narendranath be taken as one of the greatest saviours of the Punjab. He has, through his personal influence in Government circles as well as in other public institutions, been instrumental in giving employment to a large number of Hindu young men in his life. It is for the young men to remain always indebted to this great soul. He is an embodiment of kindness.

Raja Narendranath belongs to a family which has left unforgettable marks on the annals of the Punjab history. Even in Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, where complete list of the Sikh army is given, we find with bold letters a reference to 'Diwan Ayodhya Prasad's forces', superior in number and strength to any brigade commanded by any Sikh

stipendary Extra Assistant Commissioner in 1873. Diwan Baijnath died in 1875 and his estate was managed by the Court of Wards, when his son, Raja Narendranath was of very young age.

Diwan Narendra Nath passed his M. A. in 1886 from the Govt. College, Lahore which he had joined in 1881. He was appointed as an Assistant Commissioner in 1888. He served as an Assistant Commissioner, District Judge, and Deputy Commissioner in different districts in the Punjab. He was appointed as an Officiating Commissioner of Lahore in 1919.

From the very beginning, he has interested himself in social reforms. He was president of a social conference in 1893, when the Congress was presided over by Dadabhai Nowroji. Raja Sahib has taken very great interest in education—industrial and academic. He has been on the Board of Trustees as Chairman of the Dayal Singh College, Lahore and Victoria Diamond Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute, Lahore since their very start.

He joined the Hindu Sabha Movement in 1917 and from that time he has been representing the grievances of the Hindus before the Government with great boldness and courage.

He was elected the President of the memorable Delhi Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1926. He presided over a Provincial Hindu Conference at Multan

and in 1934 he presided over the Frontier Hindu Conference at Peshawar. In 1923 he presided over the Provincial Hindu Conference at Amritsar. For years together, after 1926, he remained as one of the vice-presidents of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha.

Raja Sahib gave great help to Dr. B. S. Moonje during the days of the Round Table Conference. In 1929, he went to England to plead the Hindu cause before the British statesmen. He was also invited to the Round Table Conference in 1931. But when the British Government gave the so-called Communal Award, Raja Sahib refused to participate in the third Round Table Conference and publicly sent his refusal not to participate in its deliberations in London.

From the very commencement of the Provincial Council in the Punjab, Raja Sahib has been its most important member and has always been elected unopposed. From 1921 to 1926 he was the leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Council. In 1927, he wrote to the Government that in future Hindu Ministers should be appointed after consultation with him and that he should not be considered as a candidate for ministership. In the last election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly he was elected unopposed as usual. Perhaps very few people were elected unopposed this time. In the Assembly he used to be described as "the Father of the Punjab Assembly."

On the first day of the meeting of the present Punjab Assembly, it was Raja Narendranath, who was requested by the Government of the Punjab to preside over the deliberations before the Speaker was elected. He has been the leader of the Hindu Sabha party which was styled as the National Progressive Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The main object of Raja Sàhib's party has been to safeguard and fight for the interest of Hindus in the Punjab and for this reason co-operation or non-co-operation with the Government has always been of secondary importance to him. When Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan sought his co-operation in early days of the formation of his Government, which were of course uneasy days for him, Raja Narendranath gladly extended his hand of co-operation to him only on one condition that Sir Sikandar's Government will deal fairly with the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab. For this act of co-operation with Sir Sikandar, Raja Narendranath shared unpopularity and faced hostile demonstrations against him. But nothing moved him a step and he stood firm with Sir Sikandar, even at the cost of incurring displeasure of his own friends and Hindu Sabha people. But all knew that Raja Sahib, being a man of strong convictions, was supporting Sir Sikandar as in his heart of hearts he believed that the interest of the Hindu minority of his province lay in co-

operation with Government. A few months before the agitation against Raja Sahib for extending his co-operation with Sir Sikandar, Raja Sahib wrote to the British Government that he would not accept any further titles.

Few months back Sir Sikandar's Government passed the Black Bills, which created caste differences in the Punjab and would be detrimental to the best interests of the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab. Inside the Assembly Raja Sahib, a man of seventy four, even at the cost of his health, gave right royal battle to the Bills from the very start. He walked out of the Select Committee as his first mark of protest and definitely told Sir Sikandar that to enact these Bills in their present form it would be nothing short of tyranny upon the minorities of the Province. As the Premier would not listen to the timely counsel of Raja Sahib, he abstained from attending the Assembly any further His heart was almost broken as he could not bear the sight of injustice being done to the Hindus and Sikhs. Only a few people yet know that the Raja Sahib has already spent a great deal from his own pocket to carry on the agitation against the Bills and still fewer know that the personal interests of Raja Sahib are not affected by these Bills. But this self-less and trusted worker in the canse of justice and fairplay has not cared at all for his self-interests and gain and is whole-heartedly advocating the cause of the weak

and the helpless minorities of the Punjab. Raja Sahib had hoped against hopes that best counsels would prevail at the end. He memorialised the Governor not to give his assent to the Black Bills but all his hopes have been shattered. The Governor's assent to two of the Bills has proved the proverbial last straw and the Raja Sahib has kicked away his seat in the Assembly, where the Hindus must not expect any justice at all.

He is, in fact, a political Sanyasi of whom the Hindus of the Punjab have much need to-day.

SHRI DR. B. S. MOONJE

Presided in 1927.

The veteran Doctor of 72 was born in Bilaspur, (C.P.) His father, employed in a Government Department, was a staunch Hindu. Mindful of his son's future he always exhorted him not to lose his ancient faith while he received English Education which, he was afraid, had denationalised many brilliant youths of the day. The advice given to him had a lasting impression upon him and from his very boyhood Dr. Moonje has been of religious bent of mind and proud of ancient Aryan glory.

In 1898 he finished his Medical Education in the grand Medical College and for about two years he served the Bombay Corporation which he left to take an active service in the Boer War. There he served as an 'in-charge' Medical Officer and for his meritorious services he was awarded a medal 'clasp'.

After the Boer War, as his active habit would have it, he wanted to settle down in Afghanistan but his dreams remained unrealised. He had to return to Nagpur and established himself as a very successful and

expert eye-operator. He adopted his own technics of cataract operation and in no time his fame as an eye-surgeon spread far and wide.

But the restless soul of the Doctor was hankering after some new 'fields of glory.' Day by day he grew impatient and at last threw himself heart and soul in the politics of the country. He joined the Indian National Congress, worked in various capacities and as a zealous Lieutenant of Lokmanya Tilak took very prominent part in the party-feuds between the Extremists and Moderates. For a time he kept himself aloof from the Congress until in 1915 Lokmanya Tilak returned from jail.

In 1916 when the Congress was held at Lucknow and the Hindu Muslim Pact was formulated, Dr. Moonje was emphatically against the introduction of separate electorates but he yielded due to the advice of elder politicians. But he always held belief since that time, that the obligation was made as a political sagacity which did not justify itself by the results expected from it in the shape of Hindu Muslim Unity.

After the death of the late Lokmanya Tilak, Mr. Gandhi came to the fore in the Congress, but from the very beginning, the Philosophy and work of Mr. Gandhi did not appeal to him. He could not agree with the principle of Mr. Gandhi that he could conquer everybody with love. Dr. Moonje himself is a

responsive co-operationist and does not believe in the doctrines of non-violence and Satyagraha. He is strongly in favour of developing militarism among Hindus. He believes that as the Hindus form the majority in the country they have got full right of attaining Swaraj and of developing socialism in which all communities could be treated quite impartially. With this policy he could not see eye to eye with the Congress gods but he never cared to court their favour. In 1922 Dr. Moonje had to go to Madras to enquire into the causes of the Mopla riots. He was shocked to know the atrocities and outrages committed npon the innocent Hindus—men, women and childern by the Muslim Moplas. His whole mentality underwent a change. He became out and out a staunch believer in the Hindu Mahasabha programme. Malabar affairs impressed him deeply and brought him home the truth that the Hindu Muslim Unity was an impossibility on the lines followed by the Congress.

This was a revolt against Gandhi's policy of Pacifism.

In 1926 the Doctor was elected to the Central Legislature but after four years he resigned in response to the call of the country.

Soon he was looked upon in the Assembly as a member well versed in Military matters and as one who could speak on the subject authoritatively. It was he

who gave the push of momentum to the thought of Indianisation of the Army in India. In 1927 he was elected as the President of the 10th Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, held at Patna. His address is remarkable for clear thoughts and convictions. Since then he has been taking a very keen interest in the Hindu Mahasabha Movement and can safely be regarded as one of those very few Hindu leaders who have been steadfastly and dauntlessly advocating the cause of the Hindus through thick and thin. In 1930 he took part in the Round Table Conference and though the entire community was opposed to him, Dr. Moonje boldly stood all the opposition in the conviction that his joining the Round Table Conference was inevitably essential in face of Mr. Jinnah and other Musalmans having accepted the invitation to join it. The Hindus have blessed him for the most valuable services rendered to them in the Round Table Conference and feel grateful to him.

No doubt Dr. Moonje stands as a unique personality in our country's politics and reform movement but he is chiefly known now-a-days as a great pioneer in the field of practical Military Education in India. The name of Bhonsala Military School has reached even the remotest corner of India and Hindus are truly proud of it. Many before Dr. Moonje could think of the dire necessity of imparting Military training to our

young men but it was the Doctor's task to give a practical shape to the long-cherished dream. The Bhonsala Military School shall ever remain a standing monument to great Doctor's courage of conviction, his love of ancient Rashtraya glory and his shrewd sense of practical statesmanship. To quote his words, "We start with the conviction that our fighting men, speaking impartially and without passion or bias, do not lack in the ardour for fight or courage or dash or leadership but it is equally a fact that without the training in the European methods of warfare their fighting virtues do not yield the results that they ought to.

"This military School is intended to be an attempt at removing these defects so that our boys may vie with British boys on battle fields.........In short the School will attempt to infuse British virtues of militarism in our boys without anglicising them or denationalising them. In fact the School will strengthen their Hinduism in its prestine purity." Such is the hope and ambition of Dr. Moonje.

SHRI N. C. KELKAR

Presided in 1928 & 1932.

Shriyut N. C. Kelkar was born at Miraj, on 24th of August, 1872. As a child, he was very precocious. He was educated at Miraj, Kolhapur and Pooua. His academic career was brilliant and he took his LL. B. Degree in 1894.

Just as a duckling takes to water, so did Mr. Kelkar took to journalism, He wrote a charming prose, racy and homely. His writing throbbed with a moral purpose. It sparkled with cultured humour. It did not reek midnight oil but had the freshness of the dew on it. Lokamanya Tilak who was emphatically a writing man, was not slow in recognising Shri Kelkar's journalistic flair. In 1896, Tilak took his assistance in conducting law classes and to edit the 'Mahratta'.

In 1897, Lokamanya was prosecuted and his mantle devolved itself on the worthy shoulders of Mr. Kelkar. He was appointed as the Editor of both the 'Kesari' and the 'Mahratta'. The journals became a faithful reflection of his personality. As Editor, mystical

worship of efficiency was his master-passion. He always kept the journals on the high table-land of justice and fair-play. Trenchant and pointed, the editorials were highly illuminating and logically water-tight. Sir G. Subramanya Iyer, the President of the 1898 Congress Session, paid a warm tribute to the genius of Shriyut Kelkar as a remarkable Editor.

After the release of Lokamanya Tilak, Shriyut Kelkar was confirmed as the Editor of the 'Mahratta'. The second conviction of the Lokamanya again made him the Editor of both the journals.

In 1920 Shriyut Kelkar succeeded the Lokamanya as the Director of the 'Kesari' and the 'Mahratta'. He has maintained intact the stormy independence of those fearless journals.

Shriyut Kelkar is not an intellectual millionaire, but has an inexhaustible pocketful of coppers. The mere volume of his output is amazing He has published forty volumes within forty years. Shriyut Kelkar is with justice called 'SahityaSamrat.'

His enthusiasm for things of the intellect is unflagging. His works in Marathi are springs of perfect sweetness. The Kelkarian age has witnessed a fresh welling-up of life, of new experiences and of new forms of art.

The politician and the journalist are the two facets

of Shriyut Kelkar's genius. His political career has been marked by unyielding purpose and resourceful generalship. He will unhorse the opponent with a phrase. He will descend on him like an avalanche. He is the type of a general who will not lose a gun but snatches victory.

In 1917, Shriyut Kelkar was the Secretary of the Tilak Home Rule League. In 1919, he went to England as the organiser of the Congress Deputation and the Secretary of the Home Rule League Deputation. In 1923, he joined Das and Nehru in forming the All-India Swaraj Party and was elected to the Supreme Legislative Council. There he became the chief whip of the Swaraj Party.

In 1925, there was a rift between Kelkar and Das on the question of Office acceptance. Thereafter he and Jayakar formed the Responsivist Party. Since 1930, he did not contest election.

Shriyut Kelkar was the first President of the Democratic Swaraj Party and was also the President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. For two terms, he was the President of the Poona City Municipality. He attended the III R. T. C. as a delegate and twice refused the invitation.

"Writing he has understood and politics misunderstood", say the phantom accusers of Shriyut Kelkar.

In politics, Shriyut Kelkar is topically anticipatory. He is a prophet with a bright vision. For the last seventeen years, he has been passionately pleading for the Council-entry programme. Then his voice was a cry in the wilderness. Now it has become the official programme of the Congress. The mistake of Syt. Kelkar was that he is an astute statesman with deep insight and great fore-thought.

Shriyut Kelkar has a social talent. He is bright at repartee. His ready wit sets the table on roar. He is the sort of man whom one would like to have as a companion on a desert island. Once Das said that Mahrattas lost the empire on account of their internal dissensions. The remark touched Shriyut Kelkar to his quick. Immediately he retorted that the Mahrattas had at least an empire to lose.

Shriyut Kelkar is a democrat. He believes in the magical virtue of the ballot. He has combined initiative and leadership with a belief in the common man and a readiness to enlist his co-operation. If democratic leadership means a leadership of persuasion and friendly guidance and not a leadership of force and domination, then Shriyut Kelkar has few rivals to explain and to inspire the democratic faith.

His writings have found expression in his action. He is not a visionary but a practical genius. He has

got passion but it is controlled by an acute mind. He has zeal and it has warmed the fibres of his utterances. He is a veritable fount of schemes for associations to promote the public weal. There is no movement in Maharashtra of which the germ cannot be traced to his writing. He is connected with the working of nearly 50 institutions.

His political creed is suffused by a religious glow. For he is a doughty champion of the cause of the Hindus. He does not tolerate an inch of their rights to be deprived, nor does he aspire an inch of others' rights to aggrandise. He asks for no quarters nor does he give any to the enemy.

He has always been taking very keen interest in affairs of the All India Hindu Mahasabha. He has presided over two Sessions of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, one at Jubbulpore in 1928 and the other at Delhi in 1932. He also presided over a Special Session of the Mahasabha at Cawnpore in 1925.

In 1929 he was the President of the Frontier Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference held at Lahore.

Shriyut Kelkar was the Chairman of the 17th Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha held at Poona under the Presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. It is owing to his lead and initiativeness that the Hindu Sabha Movement has become so popular in Maharashtra.

SHRI BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJI

Presided in 1929.

Babu Ramanand Chatterji was born on May 28, 1865 in a Brahman family in a town of Westernmost Bengal. His family was well-known for the priestly scholars. From his early childhood, he was distinguished to be as one of the most brilliant boys. Babu Ramanand had a very brilliant career at his back and was drawn to journalism from his very early life. Although from his college days he began his life of journalism yet his serious effort was his editing the 'Dasi'. Afterwards he edited 'The Indian Messenger' and the 'Pradip' which he himself started. Afterwards he started 'Prabasy' from Allahabad in 1901. In 1907, he started his well-known monthly magazine, 'the Modern Review' which has to-day become an institution by itself. Babu Ramanand Chatterji is counted as one of the greatest journalists in the world of journalism. Bengal in particular will always remain grateful to Babu Ramanand for the service he has done to propagate the Bengal literature in modern times.

Babu Ramanand Chatterji formerly belonged to the Brahmo Samaj. He is a great social crusader. In the field of politics, Babu Ramanand Chatterji belongs to that class of patriots who are considered the champions of full Indian Independence and he used to express his views with all boldness even in those days when there were very few to take up the cause of full independence. Since early in life, he has been taking keen interest in the activities of the Indian National Congress.

In 1926, Babu Ramanand Chatterji was invited by the League of Nations at Geneva to study its activities. It was a great honour not only to Babu Ramanandji but to India as well. He has presided over a large number of social and religious Conferences, viz. Sadharam Brahmosamaj, All India Theistic Conference and Jat-Pat-Torak Mandal, Lahore. In politics also, with the change of times and of circumstances, Babu Ramanand Chatterji took up the cause of Hindu Mahasabha. In 1929, he presided over the 12th Session of the Hindu Mahasabha which was held at Surat and remained a Vice-president of the Hindu Mahasabha for a number of years. He also presided over the All India States' Peoples' Conference and the All India Anti-Communal-Award Conference So far as this so-called Communal-Award is concerned, Babu Ramanand Chatterji has rendered yeoman

services to the cause of Hindusthan. He has been carrying on ceaseless agitation from the Press and the Platform against this abnoxious document which is meant according to him 'to divide the country into water-tight compartments and keep permanent subjection of Hindusthan under the British thumb.' In 1936, he was invited to preside over the Second All India Hindu Youths Conference which he readily accepted, but his ill-health did not permit him to preside over the Conference and the conveners had to postpone the Conference. His message to the Hindu Youths was so inspiring as to show that it did not come from an old man of 75 but rather from a youngman. Babu Ramaaand Chatterji is the advocate of true Nationalism and is always ready to fight for the just interests of the Hindus who form the major community of India.

SHRI C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR

Presided in 1931.

Shri C. Vijiaraghvachariar is generally known as the Grand Old Man of India. He was born in the month of June in 1852 in a village near Chingleput in South India, about forty miles from Madras, in an orthodox Brahman family. He spent his early youth in learning Sanskrit and Vedas, but a kindly uncle who knew English snatched him away from the village and sent him to a school to learn English. He was educated in Pachiappa's High School and the Presidency College, Madras whence he graduated in 1875. He was employed in the educational department for a short while. But he resigned the service and joined the Bar and began to practise at Salem. While practising as a pleader he took great active interest in public affairs and politics. He was elected Municipal Councillor. In 1895 he was elected a member of the Madras Legislative Council and he remained in it for six years. Afterwards he resigned amidst the appreciation of his countrymen.

It was in 1913 that he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, then consisting of one

Chamber only. He took a very active part in it, both by way of questions and resolutions as well as by his speeches on Legislative measures. The most important measure introduced during the period was the 'Conspiracy Bill'. Curiously enough he and the late Sir Surendranath Banerji were the only two members who opposed it vigorously. At that time Lord Hardinge of Penshurst was the Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He became one of the few prominent members and a cordial friendship arose between the Viceroy and himself which lasts even to this hour.

He became a staunch 'Congress wallah' and he was elected its President in 1920 over its Session held at Nagpur. His speech at the Nagpur Session was very much appreciated, especially by the 'Statesman' of Calcutta. It is worthwhile to mention here that it was by his continued and persistent efforts that Bhai Parmanandji owed his final release from fearful conviction to which he was subjected.

The Right Hon'ble Sir Edwin S. Montague, Secretary of State for India, who with Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, examined him with reference to several public questions affecting India, says as follows :— He is an astute thinker, he objects very strongly to all forms of imprisonment without trial. I think he is on the right lines in these things. He objects to

provincial autonomy and wants development of the government of India with a Parliament of 300 people. He is the most vigorous thinker that I have met, even though some of his ideas are impracticable". He is the member of the Hindu Mahasabha and he presided over the 15th Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha held at Akola in 1931. At the same time it is worthwhile to mention that although he is a Brhaman he is respected by all castes and creeds in India. Only half a dozen years ago an important Conference was held at Allahabad with a view to bring about a complete unity between Moslems and the rest of the people in India. It was called the Unity Conference, consisting of all parties in India. Mr. Achariar was its president, unanimously elected on the proposal of Moulana Shaukat Ali and seconded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

SHRI BHAI PARMANANDA

Presided in 1933.

Bhai Parmananda has in his veins the blood of the great martyr Bhai Mati Das whose body was sawed into two by the order of the Moghul King Aurangzeb, just before Guru Teg Bahadur offered his head to be laid before the sword at the Chandni Chowk of Delhi.

It was in the year 1675. About two hundred years after was born Bhai Parmananda in the same family.

One thing which characterises his early life was his great attachment and deep devotion to Arya Samaj.

After taking his degree of Master of Arts in History from the University of the Punjab in 1901 Bhaiji joined the D. A. V. College, Lahore, as its Life-Member and workad in the institution for several years as Professor of History and Political Economy. He was in a way the moving spirit of the first group of life members of that institution. During the time he worked in the College, he had to perform a double duty: one of teaching and the other of going about on lecturing tours for Arya Samaj.

In 1905 he went to the East and South Africa as a Hindu Missionary to preach the gospel of Vedic Dharma and Hindu culture. He founded Arya Samaj and Hindu Young men's Association in South Africa where he stayed for about a year. During his tour he came in close contact with Mr. Gandhi. From Africa he went over to England.

He studied in the King's College, London for a year and half and worked in the British Museum on Indian History and wrote his thesis on the "The First Attempt at Independence in 1883" which was not accepted by the Anglo-Indian examiners who were specially selected for the purpose. After this he returned to India early in 1908.

On his return he got published his well-known book, "History of India", which was written from purely Hindu point of view, tracing the growth and decline of the Hindus as a nation and at the same time giving true facts about incidents like the so-called Black Hole and Indian Mutiny. This book was subsequently proscribed by the Punjab Government.

He was arrested in a political case in 1909 in which he was bound over for three years and had to say good-bye to the College and so went out of India for the second time and spent a year in visiting the British Colonies in South America. From there he went over to California, spent two years in the University

and got his degree in Psychology. By the end of 1913 he came back to India.

In the middle of 1914 broke out the Great War when a very large number of Sikhs and Hindus returned to India with the object of creating political unrest in the country. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, had very strong suspicions about Bhai Parmananda. He is said to have remarked once: "He (Bhai Parmananda) says he is manufacturing drugs, but God knows what he is manufacturing." In the beginning of 1915 Bhaiji was arrested in connection with the Ghadar Conspiracy Case of Lahore and tried by a Special Commission under the Defence of India Act, specially passed by the Imperial Council for this purpose. After a protracted trial he, along with several others, was sentenced to death, which sentence was afterwards commuted by Lord Hardinge to transportation for life. He was kept in the Cellular jail for five years and underwent much suffering. He got tired of his prison life and was on hunger-strike for two months to end his days. On the news of release being given to him, he gave it up. He was reduced to a skeleton on his release in 1920.

After coming back from the Andamans he worked for two years as the Director of the Servants of the People Society, Lahore while the late Lala Lajpat Rai was in jail. For five years he worked as

the Chancellor of the National University and the National College, founded by the Punjab Congress Committee. It would not be out of place to point out that he performed all these duties without receiving any remuneration. Therefore he was the most respected person in the Punjab Congress circles. He had taken this work upon himself simply for the reasons that since his return from England in 1908 he had lost all faith in the system of education prevailing in India. He held a view in common with Lala Har Dayal that this system was introduced into India simply with the object of denationalising Indians and creating a class of Indians who could serve as a link between the rulers and the ruled.

In the field of journalism Bhai Parmananda enjoys a position of note. Besides the auto-biography, 'My Story', he has written several books on History and Politics, e.g., History of the Punjab, History of Maharashtra, History of Rajasthan and History of Europe; on Philosophy as Gita Amrit and the Birth of a New Nation and Biographies such as Bir Bairagi, Saint Sukrat, Balmik and others. He has also been editing his journal, "Hindu". At present he has been regularly writing for his 'Hindu', Lahore, 'Hindu Outlook' and 'Hindu Weekly', New Delhi. It is these writings of his that have made a deep impression on the public mind and have gone a long way in giving strength to the Hindu

Sabha Movement in India. These writings would prove a living and permanent fruit of his labour of love.

During the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1922-'23 he came to realise the wrong line of policy adopted by the Congress and joined hands with Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit M. M. Malaviya in starting the Hindu Mahasabha for the purpose of organising the Hindus. When, after a short time, Lalaji and Pandit Malaviya for all practical purposes, left Hindu Mahasabha and went over to the Congress, he alone stood as the pioneer of the Hindu National Movement.

A few years after when the present Constitution was in the making, he saw that the Congressmen were really bent upon bringing about a Muslim Raj in the country and that they would not object to any constitution simply on the ground of Muslim weightage in it. Then he felt it necessary that he should go to the Assembly in order to safeguard the rights and interests of the Hindus, and that he should place, from time to time, the Hindu point of view also before the Government and the country. So in 1931 he was returned unopposed to the Central Legislative Assembly but in 1935 when he again sought election, he was opposed by the Congress. The Congress candidate was defeated by an overwhelming majority of about 2000 votes from the constituency which is the biggest in the Punjab and which includes 3 divisions—Lahore,

Multan and Rawalpindi. This shows that the masses of the Punjab were also at his back.

Bhai Parmanandji was elected President of the Ajmer Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in 1935. The whole Hindu India felt honoured and immediately after assuming the Presidentship of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, Bhai Parmananda undertook an all India tour immediately after the Session. He visited important towns in all the provinces of India, i. e. Agra and Oudh, Bihar, Bengal, Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces, Gujrat, Madras Presidency, Maharashtra, the N. W. F. Province and the Punjab. In the Maharashtra Province Dr. B. S. Moonje and Sjt. R. G. Bhidey also joined him. In almost all the cities, mass meetings of the Hindus were held and unanimous resolutions condemning the so-called Communal Award were passed, texts of which were communicated to the Government and to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

It was Bhaiji who took up to fight the Communal Award from the moment it was passed.

He was also elected the Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha and remained at the helm of affairs consecutively for about four years. During this period he made the Hindu Maha Sabha a living organization. The days of keeping the Mahasabha as a subsidiary or a corollary organization to the Congress with a half

way policy were no longer to be continued and hence it was re-organized as quite a separate body from the Congress with its own principles, aims and objects, policy and programme.

Bhaiji has founded a Hindu Sewa Ashram for training persons who would devote their lives to the Hindu Sangathan Movement and for this object in view he proposed to devote all that he has. For the maintenance of the Ashram he donated his 100 shares of the Sugar Mills which were then of the Market Value of Rs. 35000/- and of the Annual Income Rs. of 4000/-. He is at present running two journals from New Delhi—the 'Hindu Outlook' and the 'Hindu' (Hindi).

For the building of the Ashram he has collected Rs. 20000/-.

For the construction of the Hindu Maha Sabha Bhawan the main credit should surely go to Bhai Parmanandji for taking all the initiative for getting such a wonderful building constructed, which has even now become a place of daily pilgrimage for hundreds of Hindus without any distinction of caste or creed whatsoever.

There is another phase worth mentioning; that is, Bhai Parmananda as a social reformer. Bhai Parmananda having been connected with Arya Samaj from his very early life, always felt the need of not only radical social reform but social reconstruction of the Hindu

society. So far as he could see the Arya Samaj had paid but little attention to this very important question. Hence about 16 years ago he started a new movement within the fold of the Samaj and founded the Jat Pat Torak Mandal (Society for the Abolition of the caste system)

Bhai Parmanandji has an extraordinary ability as a practical politician and as a great statesman. Being an admitted historian his statesmanship of high quality is amply evidenced to a student of history who has followed the political vicissitudes during the last decade.

His is a life of sacrifice and suffering for the cause of his country and the Hindus. Very rarely does one meet with a life so full of variety and charm. But through all the phases of his life runs one common note, that is of unflinching devotion to the Hindu cause.

SHRI BHIKSHU UTTAMA

Presided in 1935.

Bhikshu Uttama comes of a very respectable Buddhist family of Burma.

At the age of about 30 years Uttama became a Bhikshu, left the homely comforts, high standard of living and his beloved relations, and joined the army of Lord Buddha. He began to spend days and nights, months and years in worshipping Lord Buddha and in the propagation of the ideals and principles laid down by the revered Lord. Soon he became one of the foremost leaders of Buddhism. He went to Europe, China, Japan and other foreign countries for preaching the gospel of Bhagwan Buddha. He is one of the greatest Buddhist missionaries.

He leads a very simple life and never thinks of any particular kind of meals. Generally he lives on fruits and milk. He finds pleasure in travelling in 3rd class.

It is not only in the sphere of religion in which Bhikshu Uttama became popular but even in the political sphere in Burma his position was unsurpassed and perhaps will ever remain so. A very interesting incident is told about the love and respect which the people of Burma have for their respectable leader.

Once Bhikshu Uttama was involved in a case. He used to go out to attend the Court. The ladies of Burma used to lay down on the road on both sides and used to spread their long hair to enable the Bhikshu to walk over them.

Bhikshu Uttama is a very learned man who knows Chinese, Japanese, English, Pali, Hindi, Bengali and many other languages.

He is deadly opposed to the caste system prevalent in the Hindu society. He wants the Hindus to give up the caste system if they want to live like a living nation. Bhikshu Uttama also takes very keen interest in the upliftment of the depressed-classes.

Years back Bhikshu Uttama's position was very high in the circle of Indiau National Congress. In Burma he was once a pillar of Congress Movement. He was even offered the Presidentship of the Congress which on account of unavoidable circumstances he could not accept.

In the last movement against the separation of Burma it was only Bhikshu Uttama's personality that could lead the great movement. He believed that Burma should not have been separated from India as both these countries are, as a matter of fact, one from religious and cultural point of view. The Government of Burma externed him for a long time and he was not permitted to enter his dear country.

It was in these days of externment in Calcutta that he became interested in Hindu Sabha Movement. It was generally believed that Buddhism and Hinduism are two distinct religions; but Bhikshu Uttama's accepting Presidentship of the Session of the all India Hindu Maha Sabha held at Cawnpore in April 1935 was a befitting reply to that wrong notion.

In his Presidential Address Bhikshu Uttama declared that Bhagwan Buddha was one of the staunchest Hindus and that he never renounced Hindu Dharma. On the other hand he infused new blood in it and spread it in other distant countries. His election as President of the Hindu Mahasabha was hailed not only in all quarters of India only but it was welcomed by Buddhist countries like China and Japan. A very large number of Buddhists even from China attended this Session of the Hindu Mahasabha. His Presidential Address, given before, shows how able he was to understand the political situation in India. As the President of the Hindu Mahasabha he toured the whole of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bengal, Maharashtra and other provinces. He remained as a Vice-President of the Hindu Maha Sabha for a number of years. His one aim of life is to see the Hindus and Buddhists united together and thus to revive the Vishal Arya Dharma once again.

SHRI VEER V. D. SAVARKAR

Presided in 1937 & 1938.

Veer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, son of Shriyut Damodarpant Savarkar, born in 1883 A. D. at Bhagoor, Dist. Nasik, is the 2nd son of his worthy father. In his veins runs the blood of Balaji Vishwanath, of Bajirao, the foremost general that Hindusthan ever produced, of Nana Phadanwis, of martyrs like Chaphekar brothers, of Ranade, and of great Tilak—as all of them belonged to Chitpavans' section of the Maharashtriya Brahmins. No wonder then that destiny should have chosen this particular caste to bring forth and nestle the child which was to be to quote Velentine Chirol, 'one of the most brilliant of modern Indian revolutionists'. Vinayak ever since his childhood was given to lofty aspirations and was marked out by all those who came in contact with him as an exceptionally gifted child.

He began to compose Marathi verses when but ten years old. Well-known papers in Poona began to accept his contributions, prose and poetical, hardly realising that the writer of them was but a boy of such tender years.

In 1897 there came news that Chaphekars and Ranade were executed in Yeravada. On the day of their execution they had got up early, prayed long and reciting loudly the verses of the Bhagvad Gita mounted the scaffold. This extraordinary fortitude and the pathos of it all moved Vinayak as nothing else in his life did. He read it all with weeping eyes. He thought: 'Well there, the Chaphekars are gone. They died full of youth and hope. They sacrificed their life, their families, and all that they held dear in this world on the altar of Motherland and shall I live only to eat and drink and be merry! Their work is unfinished, their most cherished desire unfulfilled. Why should not I take up the vow of trying my level best and sacrificing my dearest and nearest, life and all, to fulfil their mission? I will do it or die in the attempt.'

The young boy repaired to the Sanctum-Sanctorum of his family where the image of Durga was daily worshipped. He sat at her feet and there and then he took a solemn vow of dedicating his life to the mission of liberating Hindusthan from the fetters of foreign rule.

With his fiery resolve he set the youths of Hindusthan aflame. He would organise a secret society, arm and equip his countrymeu and fight out the grand struggle and if need be to die sword in hand in her cause. Of such mettle was Veer Savarkar.

In 1901, Vinayak paseed his Entrance Examination. He was married with the daughter of the then Minister of Jawhar. He joined the famous Fergusson College at Poona for higher studies. He was a prominent youth, leader of the time. Swadeshi movement was rampant. Boycott of foreign clothes was rapidly gaining adherents. On August 22nd, 1905 Mr. Savarkar organised a bonfire of the foreign clothes. That was the first of its kind in Hindusthan. The then Principal of the College, Dr. Paranjpe, now the Vice Chancellor of the Lucknow University, rusticated him from the College residency. Lokmanya Tilak defended him very strongly in one of his famous leading articles in 'Kesari'. Such was his oratorical powers both in Marathi and English, which he still retains, that Prof. Patwardhan used to say of him that he was bound to be a great demagogue. He graduated and was staying in Bombay. He edited 'Vihari' for a year. While he was studying law, he established 'Abhinava Bharat' organization, a historic band of his colleagues. Within the course of time the number increased to fifteen thousand.

On the recommendation of Lokmanya Tilak the late Pt. Shamji Krishna Varma awarded Shivaji Scholarship to Savarkar. He proceeded to England to become a barrister but the real object of his visit to that country

was to study the historical records on the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Shamji Krishna Varma, Madame Cama, Mr. V. V. S. Iyer, Lala Hardayal and Bhai Parmananda were his collegues in England. They too had a part in his thrilling activities in the British cosmopolitan. It was by chance that Lala Hardayal met Veer Savarkar in the steamer taking them to England.

Veer Savarkar hired one of the houses of Shamji and named it as 'India House'. This became a boarding and lodging house for many Indian students in London. Here Sjt. Savarkar wrote his book, 'The First War of Independence,' a book on tho last struggle of freedom by the Indians in 1857.

The book was originally written in Marathi but no publisher dared come forward to publish it. It was then re-written in English but met with the same fate. One German publisher promised to publish it but he too failed. It was in Holland that the book was published at last. Even his other books as the Life of Mazzini, History of the Sikhs, etc. were proscribed.

These extremist activities brought him under the vigilant eyes of the Yard. In London in the broad day light Sir Curzon Willie was murdered and an Indian youth, Mr. Madanlal Dhingra, who used to stay in Savarkar's India House was accused of the crime.

A public meeting of some of the Indians, including men like Sir Aga Khan (now His Highness) and others was held to condemn the murder but when the resolution, condemning in strongest terms the murder committed by Dhingra, for reasons political, was proposed and seconded, the President instead of putting it to the audience hurriedly declared it unanimously passed.

Even while the words "Unanimously passed" were on the lips of the President, a youthful but determined voice rose, "No! no! not unanimously". The President wanted to hush and brow beat and repeated "unanimously". "No" ! the protest rose again.

Mr. Bhavnagari and Sir Aga Khan angrily shouted "Who is that ! Where is he !" The Anglo Indians rushed, the Indian leaders cast wrathful looks to find out the dissentient voice. "Where is he ! Who is he ! What is his name ?" a hundred angry enquiries rose and in their midst came back the voice, "It is me and here am I; my name is Savarkar". The very sight of Savarkar made some tremble for consequences. "Kick him, down with him !" rose the cry. In the melee a Eurasian rushed forth and dealt a heavy blow on Mr. Savarkar's face. His glasses broke and wound caused near his eye profusely bled. But unmoved, with face washed red in blood, he raised his right hand and emphatically but all the more calmly repeated, "In spite of all this I still vote against the resolution".

The sight of their bleeding leader exasperated the revolutionists as never before. One of them took up his revolver. With an unerring eye, Mr. Savarkar detected it and signed to him to put it back, Another revolutionist rushed forward and with a 'lathi' broke the head of the Eurasian who had assaulted Mr. Savarkar. He too profusely bled and reeled back to his seat. The Eurasian who had assaulted Mr. Savarkar and had his head split in consequence, wrote a letter in the 'Times', a few days after, to defend his action and bragged of being proud for having dealt "a genuine British blow", although himself being a Eurasian he was only half British. But there soon appeared in the 'Times' a rejoinder which reminded that Eurasian of that "straight Indian Lathi" that sent the British blow reeling and bleeding back.

The British Government tried their best to implicate Mr. Savarkar in the affair as a co-accused, but there being no substantial evidence he had to be left off.

While these events were happening in England, the Government in India was carrying on relentless persecution of the circle of Mr. Savarkar's family and friends.

In the meantime Collector Jackson was shot dead by one Kanhere at Nasik. He was said to be a member of the secret society that Mr. Savarkar had

founded before he left for England. It was alleged that the revolver that he used was sent by Mr. Savakar.

From England Savarkar went to Paris for a time but there he learnt that a warrant for his arrest was issued in England. Despite the advice of his friends to the contrary, he at once returned to London in March 1910, but was arrested and taken to India as a 'dangerous state prisoner.'

The steamer carrying him to India anchored at Marscilles. Taking him to be a dangerous and reckless prisoner, the guards neglected no precaution and kept him under the most rigorous isolation and watch. How he tried to escape from the steamer and his guards is an event which displays a heroic fortitude that would raise the prestige of the Indian revolutionary party in the esteem of all mankind.

With 'now and never' in his heart Savarkar asked his guards to take him to the closet. The door of the water closet was set up with a glass-pane to get the inside movements reflected on a looking glass placed outside it. Savarkar entered the closet, saw the port hole at the top a little opened, threw his dressing gown on the hook against the inside pane and jumped out of the port-hole below into the deep and foaming sea. The guards broke the door and fired shots at him. Savarkar dived under water.

He swam and reached the French coast. The guards were after him. Savarkar attempted to get the protection of the French law entitled to a political prisoner and offered himself to a French policeman who handed him over to the British guards. For the time being his romantic complication formed the foremost topic in the world-press. 'La Humanity' and other French papers and leaders moved heaven and earth in France. The French Government demanded him back but the Britishers refused to deliver him. The issue was referred to 'the Hague', the highest International Court which decided against Savarkar.

In India too a Special Tribunal was set up to try his case. The trial was a memorable one. Savarkar openly refused to recognise the authority of the British Court as he deemed himself under the protection of the French law. He was sentenced for fifty-five years for waging war against His Majesty's Government. He was sent to Andamans where he remained for 14 years. He was, afterwards, brought to Ratnagiri where he was interned for the next fourteen years. It was only on May 10, 1937 that he was set free.

His release was hailed with national joy in every part of India.

For a while it remained a mystery as to which political party he was to join. The Socialists did their

best to win him over. The extreme Congressites tried their utmost to prevail upon him to join the Congress. All sorts of temptations and offers of the highest position in the parties were made to him. His old comrades, the Hindu Sabha leaders were watching the developments seriously. But never before did Vinayak Damodar Savarkar more fully deserve this proud title conferred on him by his countrymen in grateful rememberance of his services and sacrifices than when he refused to give up his independence of thought and to be caught up by the Congress mass hysteria. Few can imagine the amount of pain felt by this valiant fighter for the freedom of his Motherland in finding himself unable to join the popular chorus of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai". What could have carried a more intense appeal to him than the battle cry of those who are supposed to work for the liberating of the Mother from her bondage? But Savarkar wants to gain freedom for the Hindusthan that he knows. What avails that freedom which can be got only after Hindusthan is converted into Pakistan.

Such is the man who took over the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha at Ahmedabad in Dec. 1937. The Hindu world has again given the great patriot the highest honour at its disposal by electing him once again the President of the Nagpur Session of the

Hindu Mahasabha. He brings back into politics the principles of Shivaji, the great. Under his leadership the Mahasabha will march from strength to strength. That Veer Savarkar should be available to lead the Hindu world at a time when the rights and interests of the Hindu community were being progressively sacrificed at the altar of doubtful political expediency reminds us of the great saying of the Lord in Gita. "Whenever Dharma is in danger, I appear; Oh Partha, not only for the rescue of the good but for the destruction of the evil as well."

परित्राणाय साधूनां, विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्म्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

THE GROWTH OF THE HINDU YOUTH MOVEMENT

IN

HINDUSTHAN

THE HINDU YOUTH MOVEMENT IN HINDUSTHAN

The young Hindus in Hindusthan find themselves surrounded by societies and organisations which appeal to them for their allegiance. Uncritical as their young minds are, they are easily influenced by propaganda which is loud and which appeals to their emotions. Indeed few men escape from the grip of the atmosphere about them. It catches them before they can sift and analyse the ideas which fly about them. The Congress philosophy at present dominates the mental climate of Hindusthan, at least so far as Hindus are concerned. The young Hindus evidently cannot keep themselves safe from this climatic domination.

ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

Taking into consideration the sad plight in which our young men are being drowned every day and the helplessness of our older institutions to create an impression upon them, a few youngmen gathered in Lahore in 1928 around Shri Bhai Parmanandji to get inspiration and lead from him. They formed themselves into an organisation which was styled as "The Order of the Hindu Youths." This, after only two years, was changed into "The Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha" with its Head Office at Lahore.

The chief object of this organisation has always been and will ever be to organise the 'Hindu Youth Move-

ment' in Hindusthan and to carry the message of 'Hindu Nationalism' to the Hindu masses, especially to the young men, who are lost in sloth on account of their ignorance. It cannot be said that before the formation of this Youth Organisation there never existed any other Hindu Youth Organisation, either in the Punjab or in any other province of Hindusthan, but it cannot be denied that this was one of the first organisations which began to function under the patronage of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha, Lahore. In 1935 it was recognised by the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha as the premier Hindu Youth Organisation in Hindusthan.

Outside the Punjab, an impetus to the Hindu Youth Movement was given by Sjt. Dr N. D. Savarkar in the province of Maharastra. In 1929, he presided over a Maharastra Provincial Hindu Youth Conference held at Akola. Again in 1938, another All Maharastra Hindu Youth Conference was organised at Poona by Sjt. G. V. Ketkar, Sjt. G. M. Nalaved and others of Poona and was presided over by Sjt. Dr. Hedgewar of Nagpur. A large number of delegates from all the towns of Maharastra participated in it. Besides a very large number of distinguished leaders, Swatantrya-Veer Bar. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha participated in its

THE FIRST ALL INDIA CONFERENCE

So far as the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha is concerned has carried on its activities throughout Hindusthan as

well as abroad. The first Conference which was organised by it was the Frontier Punjab Hindu Youth Conference held under the Presidentship of Dharamvir Dr. B. S. Moonje at Lahore in 1931. Delegates and students from the Punjab and the North Western Frontier Province joined it in large numbers. The second Conference which the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha organised was the 1st All India Hindu Youth Conference held at Karachi in 1932, under the Presidentship of Shri Bhai Parmanandji. The chief organiser of the Conference was L. Tirath Ram Talwar of Karachi, the then Secretary of the Order of the Hindu Youths, Karachi. It was a very successful session. Delegates from almost all the provinces of Hindusthan participated in it. Besides other prominent leaders, Shri Baba Sahib Ganesh Damodar Savarkar joined its deliberations.

THE 2ND ALL INDIA CONFERENCE

The Second All India Hindu Youth Conference was organised in Lahore in 1936 which met under the Presidentship of Shri Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji of the Lucknow University. Shri Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma and the writer (Mr. Indra Prakash) were the Chairman and General Secretary of the Reception Committee respectively. Almost all the leaders of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha participated in it. Delegates from all parts of Hindusthan attended it.

ITS PUBLICATIONS

Of all the methods open to the organisers of the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha to influence young Hindus, it has not

appealed to emotions or base motives, as is the wont of mass movements. It has on the other hand taken up intellectual weapons and has appealed to Hindu Young men by way of reasoned argument and convincing logic. So the task of propagating the fundamental principles of the Hindu National Movement was more vigorously performed by publications of the writings of those leaders who were considered to be the pioneers of the Hindu Movement in Hindusthan.

The Sabha has brought out the following publications, which were sold at cheap rates or distributed free of charge throughout Hindusthan and abroad:—

'Khialat-i-Hardil' (The ideas of Dr. Hardayal in Urdu.) by Shri Dr. Hardayal.

'Hindu National Movement' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'Bir Bairagi', by Sjt, Indra Prakash.

'Youths, Pause and Think' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'Bir Banda', in Gurmukhi, by Swami Swatantrananda.

'Dangers Ahead' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'Whither Hindu Youths' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'The Story of My Life' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'The Position of the Hindus in the Future Constitution'.

'Hindu Sangathan' by Shri Bhai Parmananda.

'The Spirit of Youths' by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji.

'Hinduism' by Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma.

'Hindu Nationalism' by the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

'Self Abnegation in Politics' by the late R. B. Lal Chand.

'Reprint of the Presidential Address of Shri Veer Savarkar, delivered by him at Ahmedabad, in English and in Urdu' (By its branch at Amritsar).

'Hindutva' by Shri Veer V D Savarkar.

PRESENTATION OF BHAIJI'S PORTRAIT

On the occasion of the 18th Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha held in Lahore in Oct. 1936, the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, presented a full size portrait of Bhai Parmanandji, prepared at the cost of Rs. 200/- to the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha for the Hall at New Delhi

ITS BRANCHES AND ALLIED INSTITUTIONS

Besides the 23 branches of the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha in the Punjab and in the United Provinces it has also some branches and Hindu Youth Organisations outside the Punjab which work in full co-operation with the Central Body They are The Order of the Hindu Youths Karachi, The Hindu Yuvak Sangh, Nagpur, The Naujawan Sabha, Sukkur; the Hindu Youth League, Madras; The Maharastra Provincial Hindu Youth League, Poona; The Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Peshawar and The Hindu Yuvak Sangh, New Delhi. Even in Mauritious (Africa) and in Nepal it has its organisations and workers.

From September 1938, the Head Office of the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha has been shifted to the Hindu Mahasabha Bhawan, New Delhi for the purpose of further centralising the Hindu Youth Movement in Hindusthan.

THE 3RD ALL INDIA CONFERENCE

Shri Jagan Nath Prasad Verma is now organising the Third Session of the All India Hindu Youth Conference at Nagpur in Dec. 1938, which is to meet under the Presidentship of Shrimanth Khastria Jagatguruji.

Prof. Dewan Chand Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore is the President and the writer (Mr. Indra Prakash) is the General Secretary.

HISTORY AND WORKING OF OUR ALLIED INSTITUTIONS

THE SHUDDHI MOVEMENT IN HINDUSTHAN

The word "Shuddhi" is understood still by many people to mean a movement for conversion to Hinduism of only those that were once Hindus but were subsequenty converted to another faith. But the word was never intended to possess that limited or restricted sense. It implies the admission to the Hindu fold also of those who were never originally Hindus but seek for the first time to come into that fold, There are some who attribute some sinister designs to the movement. They must know that Shuddhi or proselytism is not a modern conception in the land of Aryavarta. A great dis-servise has been done to the Hindus by the thoroughly mistaken view held by some of its leaders in the immediately preceding centuries that only a Hindu by birth was a Hindu and hence conversion was altogether ruled out. They forget that the virile Vedic Brahmins could penetrate any part of the world and purify it with the touch of their Sanatan Dharma so as to make it fit for habitation of civilized people. Whatever they touched they purified and made serviceable both to minister to their personal comforts and the conveniences of their lives as well as to facilitate their civilising mission. Not very long ago Lord Buddha preached for the whole of the human race and within His fold

there could come every human being to whatever race or country he belonged. Kabir, Guru Nanak, etc. followed him and preached in the same strain. Shri Guru Govindsingh gave an organised shape to a religion which sprung from Hinduism and is based on the same cardinal principles as Hinduism. Swami Dayanand Saraswati in recent times gave a strong impetus to the idea. The idea of Shuddhi has therefore no connection with recent political movement. We see, therefore, no reason why those who strive for political advancement should call upon us to give up a movement based on an idea first conceived in the Land of Aryavarta centuries ago, before Christianity or Islam came into existence. Shuddhi is nothing else but proselytism and it passes our comprehension why the right of conversion enjoyed by all other religious communities in the land should be objected to and denied to Hindus. The idea of proselytism is pre-eminently our heritage and this is why the Hindu Mahasabha has been concentrating its attention to the work of Shuddhi. For some time Hindus had grown passive and were not very anxious to convert aliens to Hinduism, nay, they had even declined to re-admit into their fold those who had gone out of us due to their ignorance and our indifference. But ceaseless and determined attempts on the part of Christians and Muslims to deplete the ranks of the Hindus by all kinds of ways could not be tolerated by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders who have always stood for Hindu rights. In recent years Hindu-Muslim riots and the Mopla rebellion have opened the eyes of even those who were thought of as extreme or-

thodox. Many Hindu Institutions, quite independent of Hindu Mahasabha, have come into existence and have undertaken the Shuddhi work in sheer self-defence. These have brought back to Hinduism the Hindus who were intimidated into accepting Islam. The Shuddhi work has accordingly been pursued by various Institutions (Arya Samajas, Hindu Ashramas, Shuddhi Sabhas, All India Kshatri Sabha, etc.) under various designations throughout the length and breadth of India. In 1923 Swami Shraddhanand entered the field of Shuddhi. His work was carried on with seriousness, zeal and devotion on such a large scale that it created an unnecessary flutter in the dovecots of Muslim leaders and many of the Hindu Congressites who in season and out of it follow them. But the work of the great Swami went on undeterred and it infused a new life-blood into the timid veins of the Hindus who had grown very terrified by the Muslim-riots and Mopla atrocities. Organised attempts, however, from the side of the Muslims were sought to be made on the lives of the Hindu leaders. Even the greatest of the Muslim nationalist leaders are said to have encouraged such ruffians. A cowardly attack was made on the precious life of the great Swami who fell a victim to their shots and gave up his life at the altar of Shuddhi. But his martyrdom made the Hindus all the more active and many dozens Associations, deriving inspiration from his glorious death have been doing tremendous work in the field of Shuddhi. The Malkana Rajputs have been reconverted. Thousands of Christians have been brought to the Hindu fold. Orphans, helpless women, and children, are daily rescued by these Associations

from the missionaries of alien faiths. So for as the rescue of the babies and Ablas is concerned, the greatest and best organized institution in India is the Hindu Abla Ashram and the Childern Home in Calcutta which is governed by a most representative body of Calcutta with Sjt. Babu Padam Raj Jain as its General Secretary.

In the field of Shuddhi, His Holiness Shankaracharya and even orthodox leaders such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya have given proof of their strength of mind and great practical wisdom by taking active part in this sacred task of conversion. Very recently the reconversion of Rajkumar Seetaman to Hinduism at the hands of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is an event the importance of which is colossal enough by itself.

Here below our readers will find some of the figures denoting approximate number of persons converted or reconverted to Hinduism with those rescued from the clutches of the missionaries of the alien faiths. The figures have been taken from the records and reports of the various reclaiming Institutions (Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha, Dayanand Salvation Mission, Dalitoddhar Sabhas, Hindu Sabhas, Hindu Abla Ashrams, Hindu Missions, Arya Samajas, Shri Masurkar Maharaj's Ashramas and other Suddhi Sabhas). The number represented here is, in our opinion, much less than actually what it ought to be, as we have not been able to gather full informations from the institutions engaged in Shuddhi work, However, it can speak volume of the earnestness of our workers who have realized the gravity of the situation of the Hindus in every province,

though it can reliably be said that the number of reconverted is entirely insignificant and falls short, if compared with that of conversions to Islam or Christianity by Tablig-Jamayats or Christian Missionaries in British India and Indian States

It is hoped that the full significance and importance of the movement would be realised by the Hindus more and more as the time advances. The instinct of self-preservation in the Hindu cannot now fail to react. Happily wisdom is dawning upon our nation and in the daily conversions a destined fulfilment of the original purpose can be discerned.

REPORTS OF RECLAIMING INSTITUTIONS

PUNJAB

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Dayananda Salvation Mission Hoshiarpur 1927-1937	11121	87353	205	98679
Dayanand Dalit Uddhar Mandal 1926-1937	89660	...	...	89660

DELHI & U. P.

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
All India Hindu Shuddhi Sabha Agra and Delhi 1923-1938	227000	...	228	227228
Arya Samaj (College Section) New Delhi	1	...	30	31

RAJPUTANA

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Ajmer Hindu Sabha 1923-1937	40000	...	700	40700
Bharatpur, Alwar, Beawar, Targar	10000	...	3	10003

MAHARASHTRA

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Hindu Sabha Arya Samajas				
Nagar, Nasik, Chalis-gaon, Jalgaon	894	...	...	894
Pandarpur, Dhawangaon	6	...	...	6
Hindu Dharma Math	712	...	154	866
Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha	150	250	...	400
Dig Raj Arya Samaj	1	...	...	1
Nasik Hindu Sabha 1931-1938	5	...	10	15

BIHAR

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Akhil Bharatiya Sharddhanand Trust upto 1937	665	...	...	665

BERAR

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Hindu Sabha	603	...	...	603
Sharddhanand Trust 1930-1937	31	...	...	31

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Bharatiya Hindu Dharma Math 1928-1938	120	60	170	350
BOMBAY				
Hindu Sabha Dadar	44	2	...	46
Arya Samaj Dadar	...	2	...	2
Arya Samaj Bombay 1927-1938	39	196	393	628
Bombay Hindu Missionary Society 1917 1924	150	121	...	271
Paundharpur Hindu Sabha	2	...	20	22
Lonavala Hindu Sabha	2	...	...	2
Poona Hindu Sabha	1	...	...	1
ASAM				
Hindu Sabha 1927-1937	382	72	357	811
CALCUTTA				
The Hindu Abla Ashram & Babies Home 1924-1936	...	...	3900	3900
Hindu Mission 1925-1937	1943	2942	150,000	154885

BARODA

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha,				
Arya Kumar Sabha Hindu Sabha Kareli Bag	112500	86000	2000	200500

NAGPUR

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Hindu Sabha 1935-38	212	35	1800	2047

KARACHI

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Hindu Rescue Home Association 1935-1938	...	...	37	37

MALABAR

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Arya Samaj	3500	...	...	3500

DECCAN STATES

	MUSLIMS	XTIANS.	RESCUED	TOTAL
Kolhapur Hindu Sabha and Arya Samaj	1023	1245	2000	4268
Miraj & Sangli Hindu Sabha upto 1937	36	...	2	38

TOTAL ... 8,41,090

THE RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF SHRI MASUKAR MAHARAJ IN VARIOUS PROVINCES IN HINDUSTHAN.

SHUDDHI

From 1928 to 1938.

Goa	10,000 Nearly all were Christians.		
Satara District.	1,000 Christians and 140 Mohammedans.		
Berar, Khandesh, Bombay and Karnatak Etc.	1,000		
Conversion of Royal family in Satpura States.	16 Mohammedans.		
(Punjab) Abbotabad, Nowshera, Tehri, Bhatinda.	12	"	"
Kashmir	1	"	"
Greater Maharashtra	190	"	"
Musar Ashram	7847	"	"
Total ...	20206		

PROTECTION GIVEN TO FALLEN ONES

Punjab—Tehari and 4/5 villages nearby. 1,290 Saved from conversion to Islam

Kashmir—Uddyampur	8	Saved from conversion to Islam
Nepal	300	,, ,,
Khasol	25	,, ,,
Gwalior—Mandosar	600	,, ,,
U.P.—Prayag, Kumbha Mela	1500	Saved from conversion to Christianity.
Bengal—Datan (Calcutta)	10	,, ,,
Sindh—Sadhubela	20	Saved from conversion
Nara	1	to Mohammedanism.
Berar	25,000	Saved from the clutches of Mohammedans.
Satara—Satara	350	Saved from conversion
Nandre	2,000	to Christiaeity.
Kokan	250	,, ,,
Vasai—Vasai	150	,, ,,
—Talagri	1,500	,, ,,
—Nirmal	4,000	,, ,,
Multapi—Baitul part.		Protected some Jungle tribes. Number not available.
Vadhapani	1,500	Protected some jungle tribes.
Dound	75	Protected some Harijans
Raipur	800	Saved from being converted
Shendurjana	150	Saved from conversion,
Total	39529	

THE BHONSALA MILITARY SCHOOL

Founded in 1937.

The Bhonsala Military School is for the present the only Institution of its kind, particularly for the boys of the middle classes.

Inspired by the philosophy of realism, Shri Dr. B. S. Moonje got round a few people of his way of thinking and a Society was established and later on duly registered, which is called the CENTRAL HINDU MILITARY EDUCATION SOCIETY. The principal aim of the Society which has established and is conducting the School, is the realisation of the old Vedic Law of education :—

"अग्रतश्चतुरो वेदाः पृष्ठतः सशरं धनुः ।
इदं ब्राह्ममिदं क्षात्रं शापादपि शरादपि ॥"

It means that, along with the training of the mind and the development of the intellect, the body also should be equally developed and training in the Science and the Art of personal and national defence should also be imparted. This Sanskrit couplet is succinctly translated, as if it were, by Sig. Mussolini by his dictum—"The Book and the Rifle." In other words, the object of the Society in establishing this School is to make it a feeder school to the

Indian Military Academy at Debradun, so that it may be one of the Institutions envisaged by Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode providing for the constant supply of a really first class material for recruitment of Officers in the Indian Army.

Besides this immediate objective, the ulterior aim is to bring about the Military rejuvenation of the Hindus; so that the artificial distinction of Martial and Non-Martial classes amongst the Hindus may be eradicated and the Hindus may be enabled to supply soldiers for the defence of their homeland in the same proportion in which other communities can, which are not so caste-ridden.

The Governing Body of the Society which is directly responsible for the conduct of the School is composed of such leading and influential men as the Hon'ble Mr. Jayakar the Federal Judge, the Home Member and the Army Member of the Government of Gwalior, Sriman Pratap Seth who has given a donation of a Lac of Rupees, Seth Mathuradas Vasanji Khimji, Col. Kukday, Sir Govindrao Pradhan,, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, General Shinde of Baroda, Sardar Angria of Gwalior, and others.

FINANCES OF THE SOCIETY.

Upto now about Rs. three Lacs and fifty thousand have been promised as donations. About Rs. three Lacs have been realised and the rest are being realised and further more donations are being canvassed. The donation of Rs. one Lac of Pratap Seth has been converted into a permanent Endowment Fund which brings a yearly income of

Rs. 4,000/- by interest. H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior's donation of Rs. one Lac is at present invested in Government Security Bonds. About Rs. one Lac has been spent in the construction of 5 Dormitaries which provide accomodation for 100 boys, a School-Building, a Kitchen-Building with a Dining Hall of 90×20 ft. providing accomodntion for 150 boys sitting together for meals on benches, and other Ancillaries.

NAME OF THE SCHOOL.

The propriety of naming the school as the Bhonsala Military School is this. The name Bhonsala does not appear to be generally known in Northern India; but to us in the Maharashtra, the name is most sacred. It is the name of the family in which was born a great personage, Shri Shivaji Maharaj, who delivered this land of ours from the foreign rule of the Moghuls and revived Hindu Imperialism.

GENERAL SCHEME OF THE SCHOOL.

The School is strictly and entirely residential and is a kind of Military Camp with strict discipline prevailing. The whole course of Physical and Military Training is compulsory for all boys. It comprises the following:—

1. Physical Training, both indigenous and western, such as Soorya Namaskar, Physical Exercise on western system, organised games such as Hockey and Football, Swimming and life-saving, horse-riding, indigenous arts of self-defence such as wrestling, 'lathi', sword, spear, etc.

2. Military Training comprising Rifle-shooting, training of selected boys in competitions of Rifle-shooting, Squad

Drill, Arms Drill, Musketry, Platoon-command, Company-command, etc.

3, Periodical Lectures on Elementary Military organisation and administration,

Besides such Physical and Military Training, the School gives Book-education like any of the High Schools recognised by the Government and prepares boys to appear for the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University. The first batch of boys from this School will appear for the Matriculation Examination in 1940. The School has already secured Government recognition. To serve the convenience of boys coming from different Provinces, speaking different Provincial languages, the general medium of instruction is English, but special arrangement has been made for teaching Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati, and Hindi, for the present.

Age of admission ranges from 10 to 16 years. No boy is allowed to appear for Matriculation Examination from this School who shall not have passed through the compulsory course of Physical and Military Training. having resided in the School for at least two years.

The Uniform Dress of the boys of the School is of two kinds, one for the Drill parade and another for the P. T. parade. For the Head-wear, solar hats are in daily use for Drill-parade and on the Play-grounds.

THE GENERAL KITCHEN AND THE CANTEEM

The general kitchen of the School is strictly and entirely vegetarian; but a separate provision for Canteen has been

made, where refreshments, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian, are available for purchase by boys as they desire.

Caste distinctions are not observed in the School. All boys, to whatever caste they may belong, are, on admission to the School, regarded as belonging to the Kshatriya Varna and are treated as such in daily routine. All boys sit down together for dining in the general Dining Hall on benches and tables without any caste distinctions, what-so-ever.

SCHOOL--FEES.

Admission fee is Rs. 5/ and the School fees are Rs. 25/- monthly for the first three classes and for the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th classes the fees are Rs. 30/ monthly. These fees provide for board, lodge, and tuition, including medical relief for ordinary indispositions. Extra fee of Rs. 3/ per month is charged for training in Horsemanship.

No Military School can be self-supporting on such low rates of fees but we know that parents of Middle classes cannot afford to pay higher fees. These rates of fees have been fixed on taking into account the average expense a boy has to undergo for studying for the Matriculation Examination in any ordinary High School, where a boy has to live away from home, and has to pay for his meals in a decent Hotel.

OUR HOPE.

We start with the conviction that our fighting men, speaking impartially and without passion or bias, do not lack in the ardour for fight, or courage, or dash, or leader-ship, but it is equally a fact that, without the training in the European methods of warfare or their modern imple-

ments of warfare, their fighting virtues do not yield the results that they ought to, in proportion to the courage or dash or the casualties they suffer in warfare.

This Military School of the Central Hindu Military Education Society is intended to be an attempt, however rudimentary it may be, at removing these defects: so that our boys may vie with British boys on battle-fields without the inherent handicap of conciousness of inferiority either in their training or in their implement of warfare.

RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEWAK SANGH

This is an Akhil Bharatiya Organisation started by Dr. K. B. Hedgewar, L. M. S. at Nagpur, on the auspicious day of Vijaya Dashmi in 1925, with a handful of young enthusiastic workers.

The aim of the Sangh is to protect the Hindu race, religion and culture and consquently to achieve all sided progress and regeneration of this ancient Hindu Nation. The Central idea is to infuse the spirit of collective life among the Hindus irrespective of caste, creed or profession and to transform the latent strength of the Hindus into a great nation building force.

The actual plan of work adopted for this purpose was to organise a net work of branches of the Rashtriya Swayam-Sewak Sangh throughout the length and breadth of the country which naturally creates a sort of self-confidence and a national will among the disintegrated Hindu population. The plan has wonderfully succeeded and now within the short period of thirteen years no less than three hundred branches have been established with an aggregate membership of about forty thousand. These branches are spread throughout Hindi C. P., Marathi C. P., Berar and Bombay Presidency and recently a vigorous beginning has been made in the Punjab and the United Provinces.

For creating uniformity of programme and for giving solidarity to the working of all the Sangh branhces that are already in existence and also with the object of training competent organisers for starting new Sangh branches in the untouched areas, an Officers' Training Camp is annually conducted at Nagpur, Poona and Lahore, for a period of about forty days in Summar.

The daily programme for every Sangh branch is very and greatly interesting. All the members assemble in the evening for an hour or so and undergo various kinds of physical and military training, besides which devotion to the ideal of voluntarily merging one's individuality in the greater and fuller life of the nation is created and fostered by moral instructions. In addition to these daily programme they also observe certain ceremonies, i. e. Guru Poornima, Rakshabandhan, Vijaya Dashmi, Makarsankrant, and Gudhi Padwa, etc. and also arrange various military camps, trips and outings with all the discipline and spirit befitting the occasion.

COW PROTECTION IN HINDUSTHAN

The question of cow-protection has always been a concern of vital importance with the Hindus of Hindusthan. This sacred sentiment of the Hindus towards cow-protection also played a substantial part during the days of Muslim rule in India.

Whenever the Hindus organised themselves and fought against the foreign dominations there used to be only three main factors which caught their imagination and appealed to their sentiments—Dharma धर्म, Desh देश and Cow गो. Our Saviours, Shri Shivaji and Guru Govind Singh fought for the protection of cows and Brahmans. By Brahman they meant Dharma धर्म. Shri Guru Govind Singh in his classic couplet remarked :

यही दे आज्ञा तुर्क 'गह' खपाऊं ।
गोघात का दुःख जग से मिटाऊं ॥

Some of the Mohammedan rulers did care for this sacred sentiment of the Hindus and even the Emperor Aurangxeb prohibited cow-slaughter n various places, like Muttra, etc. In the days of the East India Company as well this sentiment was respected. They also prohibited cow-slaughter at Muttra.

No sooner did a wave of consciousness sprang up among the Hindus of Hindusthan they thought of cow-protection

Early in the 20th century associations for cow-protection गोरक्षा were organised and we find from the record that the first Conference of an all-India nature was held at Calcutta in December 1917, under the presidentship of the Hon. Sir John Woodroffe, Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

In December 1918 the second session of the all India Cow Conference was held in Delhi under the presidentship of Shri V. Vijiaraghavacharya of Salem, Madras. The Chairman of the Reception Committee was the Hon. Shri Sukhbir Singh, the then General Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha. A large number of delegates and visitors from all parts of India attended the Conference, prominent among those were the late Mahatma Hansraj of Lahore, Pandit Din Dayal Sharma, Pandit Satya Charan Shastri of Calcutta, Kumar (now Sir) Jagdish Parshad and R. B. Jamna Lal (now Syt. Jamna Lal Bazaz—a well-known Congress leader).

These deliberations resulted in the formation of various Provincial Organizations. Besides the religious point of view, Cow-protection was also considered from economic stand point specially for Hindusthan which is predominantly an agricultural country.

The 3rd Session of the Conference was invited by the representatives of the Bihar Province. It was held at Patna in April 1920, which was presided over by Justice Sir Ashotosh Mukerji of Calcutta. Many prominent and distinguished gentlemen from all over Hindusthan graced the occasion with their presence. A move for the enactment of Cattle Preservation Act was made in this Conference and

the attention of the Government was drawn for the necessity of an Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

Gradually the movement assumed a local shape in every province and district in India. Large number of 'goshalas' गोशालायें and Pinjrapoles were established and the Hindus took upon themselves to finance them throughout the country.

Almost all the Hindu Religious Associations (Sanatan Dharma Sabhas, Arya Samajs, Jain Societies, etc) took up the cause and included the cow-protection in their programme. Special associations like that of Go-Rakshani Sabhas were also established,

The Hindu Mahasabha too embodied this item in its programme. We find from the rocord of the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha that at the time of its 5th Session held at Delhi in 1918 under the Presidentship of the Hon. Raja Rampal Singh one of the important resolutions was for the stoppage of cow-killing in Hindusthan.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, as the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, took keen interest in the movement of cow-protection. Long before the arrival of Lord Linlithgow who as the Viceroy gave great impetus to Cow Protection and cattle breeding, Panditji organised गोचरभूमि Gouchar bhomis (grazing grounds) on large scale for the cows, specially at Muttra and other holy places.

In almost all the sessions of the Hindu Mahasabha. we find a lively interest taken by the members of the Maha Sabha in this vital question so much so that at the Lahore Session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha, this sentiment of the Hindu public rose so high that a very

strong resolution for the stoppage of Cow-slaughter at Muttra was passed.

In the Province of Maharashtra Shri Chounde Maharaj has done wonderful work in this direction. He has organised a net work of Go-Rakshni Sabhas throughout the provinces. Special Cow Conferences were also organised by him at various sessions of the All India Hindu Mahasabha.

It is through the lively interest of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha that the Nepal Government was approched some years ago to grant some pieces of land for the grazing purpose in the adjoining districts of Nepal near Bihar. The Nepal Government have given large pieces of land for this purpose.

In 1937 the Government began to construct an abattoir under the name of 'Cold Storage' in Lahore Cantt. The local Hindu Sabha somehow or other was apprised of the intention of the Government and started a strong agitation by at once memoralising the Punjab Government and the military authorities. The agitation started by the local Hindu Sabha was soon taken up by almost all the Hindu societies in the Punjab. The Hindus at once made it an all India question, There were strikes (hartals) and demonstrations of protests against the Government throughout India. It was proposed to launch a civil disobedience campaign and the Hindu Sabha leaders like Shri Bhai Parmananda, Dr. Gokal Chand Narang and others in the Punjab volunteered themselves to lead the first batch of Satyagrahis. The Government at last had to yield and the construction of the abattoir was given up.

For the last two years the cow-slaughter at various holy places and particularly at Muttra, the sacred birth place of Lord Krishna is attracting the attention of the Hindu Mahasabha and it is believed that some practical steps would be taken very soon to get this wrong undone.

In protecting cows and Brahmans every great Hindu reformer aimed at winning true Swarajya. But today it is deplored that owing to the wrong and suicidal lead of the Indian National Congress, there is a new India before us that asks the Hindus to give up their ancient culture and adopt instead new ideas of patriotism wherein there is no place for cow. There is no item in the Congress programme of Swarajya for cow-protection. Very recently even Mr. Rajgopalacharya, Premier of Madras, who was not ashamed in boldly asserting that the Congress Government has not placed any restrictions on cow-slaughter in his province. A Bihar Congress leader has also in a statement exhorted the Hindus to permit and allow their Muslim brethern to slaughter cows anywhere they like. It is proposed that a Legislative measure permitting the cow slaughter will soon be placed on the Statute book in the province of Bihar.

The Hindu Mahasabhaites shall fight this growing spirit set on foot by the Congress till the last drop of blood in them.

THE HINDU SEWA ASHRAM

For some time past it has been seriously felt that a stage has been reached in the work of nation building in Hindusthan when to save this dying race of the Hindus in their own land and to create Hindu Consciousness amongst them, the devoted labours of a specially trained agency applying itself exclusively to the task of Hindu Sanghatan Movement, in a true missionary spirit, are requried. And it is more befitting for the Hindu Mahasabha to organise a separate institution which should train some of the Hindu Young men to devote their lives to the Hindu cause.

Shri Bhai Parmanandji was thinking for the last so many years of establishing a "Hindu Sewa Ashram" and for this object in view he proposed to devote all that he had. This Scheme is now being completed. In the beginning he wanted to start the Ashram at Lahore, Rai Bahadur Lala Sewak Ram (son of the late Sir Ganga Ram) requested him to found it at Lahore by the side of the Ravi Canal for which he was even prepared to give free land. Prominent Hindus of Delhi wanted Shri Bhaiji to open the Ashram in Delhi as it had become the Capital of India. The latter suggestion prevailed and he decided to start the Ashram in Delhi. For sometime he had been selecting certain sites for building the Ashram, but eventually he applied to the Government for the grant of land on lease on the Reading Road. The

Hindu Mahasabha Head Office was situated since its very establishment in a small rented house on the Punchkuin Road which did not befit the position and the status of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha. The land was therefore taken on lease for three definite purposes viz. Ashram, Hindu Sabha Head Office and Quarters.

In 1933 Shri Bhaiji became the President of the Maha Sabha. He placed this Scheme of starting an Ashram before the Working Committee which was welcomed.

A palacial building has now been constructed. For the construction of the Ashram building Shri Bhaiji collected about Rs. 20,000 and for its maintenance he donated, at the Ajmer session of the Hindu Mahasabha, his 100 shares of the Punjab Sugar Mills which were then of the market value of Rs. 35,000 with an annual income of Rs. 4,000. He has created a trust which includes besides him, Shri Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, Raja Narendra Nath, Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, Lala Narain Dutt, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and a few others.

The Ashram building having been completed, its charge, control and management was handed over by the Hindu Mahasabha to Bhai Parmanandji. The opening ceremony of the Ashram was performed by Rev. C. Vijiaraghavachariar of Madras in the presence of distinguished gathering which included Dr. B. S. Moonje, R. B. L. Moolraj and L. Narian Dutt, etc in the first week of April 1935.

There are at present two weekly Journals, "the Hindu Outlook," and "the Hindu" (Hindi) besides a Press of their

own. These Journals are the only mouthpieces of the policy and the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Shri Bhaiji himself intends to reside as a Banaprasti in the Ashram along with the workers who would be trained for the Hindu Sabha work.

The whole Scheme of the Ashram can only be successful if there are sufficient funds at disposal. Shri Bhaiji is now being pressed to tour some of the foreign countries to collect at least Rs. 5 lakhs to enable him to find out and maintain some young men who will devote their lives for the Hindu cause and the Hindu Mahasabha.

The Ashram will be similar to that of "Servants of India Society" Poona.

APPENDIX I

हिन्दू महासभा का उद्देश्य

हिन्दू-जाति, हिन्दू-संस्कृति तथा हिन्दू सभ्यता का संगोपन-संरक्षण एवम् संवर्द्धन करते हुए, हिन्दुस्थान को वैध-मार्ग से पूर्ण स्वराज्य अर्थात् पूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से सम्पन्न कर, अपने हिंदू-राष्ट्र को उत्कर्षगामी एवम् ऐश्वर्यसम्पन्न करना हिन्दू महासभा का उद्देश्य है।

APPENDIX II

हिंदू महासभा के मन्तव्य ये हैं—

क हिन्दू समाज के सभी अंगों को संगठित करके एक सूत्र में आबद्ध करना।

ख जहाँ और जब आवश्यकता हो हिन्दू हितों को आगे बढ़ाना और उनकी रक्षा करना।

ग अस्पृश्यता का निवारण करना और हिन्दूसमाज में दलित कही जानेवाली जातियों की स्थिति को सुधारना।

घ हिन्दू-नारीत्व के उच्च आदर्शों को पुनर्जागृत करना तथा उन्हें आगे बढ़ाना।

ङ गोरक्षा को प्रोत्साहित करना।

च हिन्दुओं की शारीरिक शक्ति को बढ़ाना और सैनिक शिक्षा के लिए सैनिक स्कूलों और सैनिक स्वयंसेवक मण्डलियों की स्थापना कर हिन्दुओं में सैनिक भाव भरना।

छ जिन लोगों ने हिंदू धर्म को छोड़ दिया है, उन्हें हिंदुत्व की गोद में वापिस लेना तथा दूसरों को भी हिन्दू-धर्म जाति में प्रविष्ट करना।

ज निराश्रित स्त्रियों तथा अनाथ बच्चों के लिये अनाथालयों तथा वनिताश्रमों की स्थापना करना।

APPENDIX III

॥ संघे शक्तिः कलौयुगे ॥

हिंदू महासभा प्रवेशपत्र

प्रतिज्ञा

भारतभूमि (हिंदुस्थान) मेरी अपनी पितृभूमि एवं पुण्यभूमि है; तथा इसी परमपूज्य भारतमाता एवम् परमेश्वर को स्मरण कर मैं प्रतिज्ञा करता हूं कि हिन्दू-जाति, हिन्दू-संस्कृति तथा हिन्दू सभ्यता का संगोपन-संरक्षण एवम् संवर्द्धन करते हुए, हिंदुस्थानको वैध-मार्गसे स्वराज्य अर्थात् पूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से सम्पन्न कर, अपने हिन्दू-राष्ट्र को उत्कर्षगामी एवम् ऐश्वर्य-सम्पन्न करने के निमित्त, मैं तन-मन-धन से जीवन भर प्रयत्न-शील रहूंगा।

वार्षिक शुल्क—पांच आना। विशेष सहायता————

हस्ताक्षर————

पूरा नाम————

पूरा पता............

तिथि———— सम्वत्............

संग्रहकर्ता मन्त्री

हिन्दू सभा————

जिला————

प्रांत————

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